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# East Europe Report

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1 OCTOBER 1986

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

COAL, ELECTRICITY PLANS EXCEEDED--The CSSR coal extraction plan between January and May was exceeded by more than 464,000 metric tons, with the total extraction amounting to almost 53.6 million metric tons, and power plants generated 31,233 GWH of electricity, thus exceeding their targets by 171 GWH. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jun 86 p 3 AU] /8918

ELECTRICITY GENERATION PLAN EXCEEDED--In the first 6 months of this year, the CSSR power engineering sector produced 36,605 GWH of electricity, thus exceeding the plan by 766 GWH. Of this, the Dukovany and Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plants produced 8,272 GWH of electricity and exceeded their planned tasks by 3.7 percent. The hydropower stations produced 2,473 GWH of electricity, which is 22 GWH above target. The conventional power plants generated 25.860 GWH of electricity, fulfilling their half-year plan by 98.9 percent. [Summary] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 9 Jul 86 p 7 AU] /8918

RISING FUEL COSTS--In the last 8 years in Czechoslovakia, the costs of extracting bituminous coal increased almost 60 percent, the costs of extracting brown coal almost 33 percent, and the costs of natural gas extraction more than 270 percent. City gas production now costs society 63 percent more than 8 years ago and electricity production over 50 percent more. In 1985, over 50 billion in valuta crowns were spent on imports of fuels and power, compared with only 6 billion in 1971. In the 1981-85 period, the rise in the costs of domestic production of fuels and electricity and of their imports "swallowed" virtually the entire increment in created national income. The development of nuclear power generation in Czechoslovakia will also result in a "fast growth of demands on counter deliveries for enriched nuclear fuel." [Summary] [Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 26 on 2 Jul 86 p 16 AU] /8918

COAL RESERVES--Prague (CTK)--The freely extractable coal reserves in the CSSR currently amount [to] about 5.8 billion tons; about 30 percent of this is bituminous coal. The annual extraction of bituminous coal amounts to approximately 25.5 million tons, and even toward the end of this century it is expected to amount to about 23.2 million tons annually. [Summary] [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 19 Jul 86 p 1 AU] /8918

OIL GEOPHYSICS ISSUES DISCUSSED--Government plenipotentiaries of the INTER-ESTEGEOFYZIKA coordination center of the CEMA countries has been discussing issues connected with the further expansion of the cooperation of the socialist countries in the sphere of crude oil geophysics at a 4-day meeting in Beladice

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in the district of Nitra since 24 June. Representatives of Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the USSR are acquainting themselves with the latest research and utilization of modern technologies for surveying deposits of crude oil, natural gas, coal, and thermal springs. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jun 86 p 8] /8918

TEMELIN COMMUNICATIONS--In order to ensure the transport of construction and other materials to the building site of the nuclear power plant in Temelin, a total of 6 projects will have to be realized between now and 1989, among them increasing the frequency of passage in the Ceske Budejovice-Veseli and Luznici and the Ceske Budejovice-Cicenice railroad sections, and completely rebuilding the Cicenice-Temelin railroad section. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jun 86 p 1 AU] /8918

COMPUTER COOPERATION SESSIONS--The 27th session of the intergovernmental commission for the cooperation of the socialist states in the sphere of computer technology ended with the signing of a final protocol in Prague on Friday [13 June]. At the same time, an agreement was signed on the setting up of "common funds of algorithms and programs" of the CEMA member-states, creating conditions for a dynamic development of computer software and mutual deliveries of software. "The heads of the delegations further signed a protocol on mutual deliveries of technical means of computer technology for the coming 5-year period, on the basis of which--compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan--the Czechoslovak exports and imports will increase at least 50 percent." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /8918

PERSONAL COMPUTERS--There are currently "at least" 50,000 people who own personal computers in the CSSR. [Summary] [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 15 Jul 86 p 1 AU] /8918

PLASTIC SHEETING FOR GABCIKOVO--The bed of the 17km long supply channel of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme will be covered with 7 million square meters of "waterproof" plastic sheeting to prevent the Danube water seeping through the scheme's gravel sand bed, which, otherwise, would not be able to hold the great volume of flowing water. The plastic sheeting will be covered with a 1 meter high layer of soil which will create a natural bed and at the same time will protect the sheet against mechanical damage. [Summary] [Prague LIKDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 14 Jul 86 p 1 AU] /8918

CSSR AUTOMOBILE PRODUCTION--CTK--During the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the CSSR's automobile industry should produce more than 890,000 passenger automobiles, almost 72,000 TATRA trucks, more than 95,000 LIAZ vehicles, more than 83,000 AVIA vehicles, more than 17,000 buses, and 830,000 motorcycles. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 14 Jul 86 p 1 AU] /8918

WATCHES TO ALBANIA--The CSSR exports, 60,000 mechanical wrist watches to Albania annually. [Summary] [Prague MLADA FRONIA in Czech 19 Jul 86 p 7 AU] /8918

NEW MATERIALS, TECHNOLOGIES DISCUSSED--A statewide meeting sponsored by the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Promotion and the



Central Council of the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society, which was held in Prague on 24 June, "discussed new materials and technologies from the viewpoint of tasks facing the CSSR with regard to the fourth priority direction of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA member-states up to the year 2000." The CSSR will take part in the solution of 43 of the 65 such tasks. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jun 86 p 8] /8918

RIVER BOAT TONNAGE--The CSSR river transportation sector operating on the rivers Labe, Odra, and Danube currently has 791 vessels at its disposal, totalling 540,000 registered tons. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /8918

SOYBEANS SOWN--The CSSR imports about 30,000 metric tons of soybeans annually. Since favorable conditions exist for growing them locally and the costs connected with it are acceptable, CSSR farmers have sown soybeans on 2,000 hectares, an area that is to be expanded to 16,000 hectares by the year 2000. [Summary] [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 14 Aug 86 p 1 AU] /8918

STORM DESTROYS CROPS--The storm, accompanied by heavy rain and hail, which raged over a part of the Louny District on 18 August, damaged or destroyed agricultural crops, especially hops. The loss has been estimated at about Kcs100 million. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /8918

PRAGUE GRAIN HARVEST ENDS--Farmers of the Prague region have ended harvesting. They harvested 22,442,800 metric tons of grain from the region's 4,818 hectares, thus fulfilling the planned target by 98 percent. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /8918

WEST SLOVAK GRAIN HARVEST--West Slovak grain growers produced 1,491,355 metric tons of grain crops this year and fulfilled the plan 84 percent. Per hectare yields averaged 4.42 metric tons. Trencin was the only district in West Slovakia to have fulfilled the planned grain production. According to Ignac Janak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, it would be incorrect to ascribe the nonfulfillment only to this year's drought and to conceal the "purely subjective causes," especially the failure to make better use of irrigation facilities. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /8918

WEST SLOVAK GRAIN PROCUREMENT--West Slovak farmers harvested "densely sown cereals" from an area exceeding 337,000 hectares this year. The exceptionally difficult vegetation conditions, the lack of rain, and the warm weather affected the fulfillment of the planned tasks. Although the state procurement plan of densely sown cereals was fulfilled by more than 100 percent, and the farmers of the region also fulfilled by more than 100 percent, and the farmers of the region also fulfilled the procurement plan for wheat grown for human consumption and malt barley, the planned production was fulfilled by 84 percent. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /8918

**HARVEST PROGRESS**--By 18 August in the Czech lands cereals had been harvested from 77.1 percent of the area sown and leguminas from 73.4 percent of the sown area. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Aug 86 p 1 AU] In Slovakia the last 2 percent of the area sown with cereals is being harvested in the Central Slovak and East Slovak region. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Aug 86 p 1 AU] /8918

**UNTILLED LAND**--In the Czech lands there are 4,327,447 hectares of agricultural land, of which 3,268,974 hectares are arable land. The area of "temporarily" untilled land at present is 76,729 hectares. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /8918

**HARVEST RESULTS**--Prague: The recent dry period has affected the yields in the CSSR; by 18 July rape was harvested 75 percent, winter barley less than one third of the crop, and winter wheat 13.7 percent. The harvesting of winter barley in West Slovakia has been concluded; there wheat has been harvested roughly 50 percent. In south Moravia the yields of winter barley are lower than last year, due to bad weather. In Central Slovakia, 16,000 of the total 113,000 hectares have already been harvested; the dry period here has caused much damage; although the yields are lower than usual in some localities, one hopes to achieve the planned yields of 3.9 tons per hectare on average; but the straw harvest is expected to be one third lower than usual. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jul 86 p 1 AU] /8918

**HARVEST ESTIMATE**--The grain harvest has started in all regions of the Czech Socialist Republic. According to latest estimates, per-hectare yields will be on average 0.05 metric tons lower than planned, but it should still be possible to fulfill the overall production plan of 7.5 million metric tons of grain. According to Frantisek Exner, general director of the Agricultural Supplies and Procurement Enterprise, as a result of higher stocks, the Czech Socialist Republic will be short of roofed storage facilities for about 0.5 million metric tons of grain. "Extraordinary measures" are being taken in cooperation with other sectors of the economy to provide makeshift storage areas. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jul 86 pp 1, 2 AU] /8918

**FOOD SUBSIDY**--According to Minister Michal Sabolcik, chairman of the Federal Price Office, the state subsidy for basic needs of life amounts of Kcs62.5 billion annually, of which foodstuffs account for Kcs39 billion. Meat consumption alone is subsidized by Kcs13 billion every year. Every purchase of Kcs100 worth of foodstuffs is subsidized by Kcs29. [Summary] [Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 18 Jul 86 p 5 AU] /8918

**FIELD CHORES**--According to Ing Z. Bambasek from the Czech Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the current rather dry period (12 percent less precipitation than normal) has resulted in greater weevil infestation of sugar beet crops, particularly in Central and East Bohemia. By 4 May, corn for silage has been sown in the Czech SR 64.6 percent; corn for grain 94.5 percent; and potatoes 91.4 percent. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 7 May 86 p 1 AU] /8918

FLOOD DAMAGE TO CROPS--The recent floods in the Czech Lands have "affected" the growth of grain on 80,000 hectares, which is less than 7 percent of the sown area. Agricultural enterprises in the areas hit by floods report that the degree of damage to crops ranges between 10 and 80 percent. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /8918

WATER POLLUTION DAMAGE--Bratislava (RUP)--Last year alone the losses to the national economy in Slovakia due to the deterioration of water quality amounted to almost Kcs30 million; for the Seventh 5-Year Plan the losses represent about Kcs100 million. The estimates of losses take into account only the value of dead fish, the costs of emergency supplies of drinking water, the loss of escaped raw materials, and the costs of improving the sanitary conditions of affected areas. The unified cooperative farms were mainly responsible for the damage, the industrial enterprises and transport less so. [Summary] [Prague MLADA FRONIA in Czech 9 May 86 p 7 AU] /8918

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ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

#### DECLINING OIL PRICES, DOLLAR, INTEREST RATES AFFECT TRADE

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 86 pp 25-26

[Article by Davorin Savin: "Stimulate Production, But Not Exports"]

[Text] Modest Effects of Favorable External Conditions. Overvaluation of the Dinar Was 42 Percent on the Eve of the Outbreak of the Balance of Payments Crisis in 1979. There Is No Way Out Without Increased Production Competitive on the World Market.

Exports in the first half of this year were about \$1 billion below what was planned. To make up that lag and achieve the projected value of exports in 1986, which was \$11.3 billion, total sales abroad over the period July-December will have to increase by \$6.7 billion (calculated at the exchange rate of 264.53 dinars per dollar). Which means that monthly exports would have to amount to \$1,116 million. July itself did not meet that requirement: during that month goods were exported worth \$797 million (the figure is for exports up through 28 July, which means that the final figures would be somewhat higher).

As for the most recent measures of the Federal Executive Council aimed at stimulating exports, their fuller effect cannot be anticipated in this quarter, but in the next quarter, provided the financial sources envisaged for invigoration of sales on foreign markets are furnished. However, even assuming achievement of the anticipated growth of revenues from invisibles,<sup>1</sup> the surplus in the balance of payments envisaged for this year, which was \$880 million, will probably not be achieved, and according to present outlooks, it could be about \$500 to \$600 million short of that. The reduction of the surplus in the balance of payments will be related to the convertible currency area and will occur almost entirely because of slower exports to that region.

#### Influences on the Balance of Payments

It should be assumed that the results in the balance of payments are less favorable than would follow from the statistical indicators themselves because this year changes took place on the international economic scene whose effects could in principle have a quite constructive impact on Yugoslav foreign trade trends and on the balance of payments.

In the first half of 1986 the price of crude petroleum dropped more than 50 percent. In addition to petroleum, the prices of primary raw materials also dropped. From their highest level in 1980 up to the first half of 1986 the prices of raw materials dropped more than 40 percent (but up until mid-1985 they were about 38 percent higher for European consumers than the average level in 1980 because of the rising value of the dollar; the drop in the exchange rate of the American currency altered that trend).

The FEC order issued in March reduced the refinery price of petroleum by 22 percent and that of petroleum products by about 20 percent, except that the prices of petroleum products for general consumption were not reduced. In May there was a new adjustment of the prices of refinery products. The drop in the prices of crude petroleum could not be passed on in the same percentage to petroleum products, since the dinar was depreciated against the dollar, so that the effect of the drop in the price of the primary raw material was diminished. This fact at the same time indicates the future trend of price movements of petroleum products on the Yugoslav market. The further depreciation of the exchange rate of the dinar--unless the expectations are fulfilled that arise from the model of "programmed inflation" that has now been applied--would absorb the effects of the less expensive imported petroleum, which means that after about 4 months a new adaptation of the prices of petroleum products would be necessary, and this time they would apply even to industrial consumption. In any case, the drop in the prices of petroleum products is helping to reduce producers' prices in industry (more accurately, it is helping them to rise less than would otherwise have been the case) by about 2.5 percent.

The effect of the drop of petroleum prices on the Yugoslav balance of payments in 1986 will be negative in spite of the smaller volume of payments for that fossil fuel. The reason for this is that there will be a reduction of our exports and also a drop in the volume of work done on capital investment projects abroad, whereby exporting countries will try to offset the losses incurred because of the drop in the price of petroleum. When we evaluate the revenue side and the expenditure side, we might assume that the net loss in our balance of payments in 1986 because of the drop in petroleum prices will amount to about \$60-70 million.

Because of the drop in interest rates on the international financial market expenditure for interest will be smaller than was assumed in the earlier projections of normalization of external liquidity. The drop of the average interest rate by 1 percentage point--while the total debt was maintained at a level of about \$19 billion<sup>2</sup>--reduces outlays for interest by about \$190 million a year (computed on the basis of the average interest rate for last year, which was 9.6 percent). Since the share of interest paid in dollars (about 65 percent) is greater than the share of the American currency in the total inflow of foreign exchange (about 45 percent), payment in cheaper dollars affords a saving on that basis as well (expressed in other currencies and in the dinar).

The drop in the value of the dollar on the international financial markets contributed to the rise in the value of that portion of our debt denominated in other currencies and at the same time to the proportionate reduction of our obligations denominated in dollars.

Taking into account the consequences of depreciation of the dollar for foreign trade as well as the effects of lower prices of petroleum and lower interest rates, we can assume that the overall benefit for our balance of payments on that basis would be between \$1.2 and \$1.4 billion in 1986. But nevertheless the balance of payments will end up with a surplus of about \$200 to \$300 million--\$500 million less than was planned.

We should recall that the drop in the exchange rate of the American currency and the reduction of petroleum prices are producing "one-time" effects, that is, effects which can be taken advantage of once, and if that opportunity is missed, its economic dimensions are lost. The drop in the interest rates, by contrast, creates benefits which will be manifested year after year in the current section of the balance of payments: payments for interest will be smaller than would have been the case if the drop in interest rates had not occurred.

### The Consequences of the Overvalued Dinar

The overvaluation of the dinar in the seventies--defined as the ratio of domestic to foreign prices at the current exchange rate in effect--tended toward an uncritical channeling of production resources into sectors with a varying degree of efficiency, including those which were unprofitable, and indeed even those which would later be identified as utter economic failures. The fact that these projects were frequently financed with foreign loans would constitute an additional difficulty in the eighties, although in and of itself it was not a cause of the present problems of the country's external liquidity (on the eve of the outbreak of the "balance of payments crisis" in Yugoslavia in 1979 the overvaluation of the dinar, according to a calculation of the World Bank, was 42 percent). The effort of economic policy to solve the problem of the foreign trade deficit by restricting imports and by "import substitution" ended with grave consequences for economic development. The accentuated protectionism cut the economy off from contact with present-day development trends in the world, which is above all manifested in a technological lag that can no longer be made up within this century. There is no economic policy which over a period of 15 years--during which approximately 6 to 8 percent of the social product will be taken away to pay off foreign loans--can squeeze out the accumulation necessary to set new technologies in motion, when this was not done over the previous 15 years, during which an additional 8 percent of the value of the social product was made available for development from foreign sources (so that the working generation of this and the next decade will have available a social product 12-16 percent smaller in value than the previous one had).

The shutting off of the Yugoslav economy into autarkic limits reduced its efficiency for two reasons: A) it reoriented production factors toward import substitution, which as a rule required more domestic resources to save one unit of foreign currency than it would have cost to obtain that unit by exporting (to earn a dollar through import substitution took twice as many units of the social product than by direct exports); B) the financial sources of the economy were spent to purchase hard-to-find and "rationed" foreign currency, and a sizable portion of the actual value of production was also used for that purpose.

The stabilization measures of economic policy which followed later were aimed at improving the situation in the balance of payments, but the autarkic concept of economic development still did not undergo any change. The real social product grew at a slower pace. Over the last 5 years its average annual growth rate has been 0.5 percent--appreciably slower not only than the advanced industrial countries (which achieved an average growth of their GNP of 2.3 percent), but also by comparison with the developing countries (their average annual growth rate was 3 percent over that period).

The stimulation of exports, according to the model adopted in June by the Federal Executive Council or administered in some other way, does not represent a long-term solution which could guarantee a constant growth of exports, especially to the convertible area. The mechanism of these measures consists basically of offering Yugoslav exporters the opportunity to drop the prices of their products to the level acceptable to the international market. According to surveys conducted by the Market Research Institute, Yugoslav producers in mid-1986 marketed about 69 percent of their exports at prices lower than domestic prices, while for 31 percent of their products they received a higher price than on the domestic market. This ratio is unfavorable for sales to Western industrial countries, where our organizations of associated labor are furnishing about 80 percent of their goods at prices lower than within the country. Since on the average the elasticity of demand for Yugoslav goods is less than unity--so that exports rise less than in proportion to the reduction of prices--the same amount of foreign exchange is achieved by selling a larger quantity of goods (which explains why the real growth of exports is larger than its nominal increase). Yet this means that it is not possible to furnish that quantity of additional goods which at lower prices could guarantee a constant growth of proceeds from exports. That growth of production that would be intended for exports is practically unfeasible. A lasting increase in the value of exports is possible only by sending additional goods to the foreign market, i.e., by creating competitive new exporters who will be selling new goods. Goods which will bring a larger inflow of foreign exchange for every unit.

#### Dynamic Pattern of Foreign Trade in 1986 (Growth Rates)

Indicator	Jan-Feb 86	Jan-Mar 86	Jan-May 86	Jan-Jun 86	1 Jan-28 Jul 86
	Jan-Feb 85	Jan-Mar 85	Jan-May 85	Jan-Jun 85	1 Jan-28 Jul 85
Exports (total)	12.8	9.9	-1.4	-3.8	-2.6
Convertible	8.4	10.3	1.1	-3.1	-1.4
Bilateral payments	20.3	9.2	-5.4	-5.1	-4.6
Imports (total)	14.1	13.8	0.8	-0.4	-1.8
Convertible	17.6	15.8	5.6	5.1	5.7
Bilateral payments	7.9	10.2	-7.9	-10.1	-14.8



The problem of Yugoslavia's external liquidity cannot be solved by economic policy measures aimed at "stimulation of exports," but only by measures to stimulate overall production (that production, of course, which is profitable--an admonition which is hardly necessary in economies organized in an up-to-date way). So, not merely production which is "oriented toward exports." Stimulation of that kind of production actually signifies a freezing of the present production structure. And export proceeds come from "nonexport production" through introduction of attractive products for which there is demand on the foreign market.

Without additional new production which will provide profitable exports, with respect to external liquidity the country will be in an appreciably more serious situation up to 1990 than the one that exists at present. The rate of servicing the debt, even after rescheduling the principal, now amounts to about 33 percent. It could drop below that level only after the annual growth rate of exports of goods and services exceeds 10 percent. Only in that case would proceeds from exports be generated at the level of about \$15 billion, which along with other revenues amounting to about \$2 billion would make it possible for the rate of servicing to drop to about 30 percent. However, in order to achieve the planned rate of servicing of Yugoslavia's foreign debt at about 25 percent, exports of goods and services would have to increase every year by at least 15 percent--a task which is unattainable given the present structure of our economy and the quality of its services and products.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The situation in the tourist industry is typical in this regard. Depreciation of the dinar makes the Yugoslav offering to tourists price-attractive. But the inflow of foreign exchange is modest and probably will not exceed \$1 billion this year. We have nothing to offer foreign tourists except "conventional" things, and in offering things other than meals and accommodations we are lagging behind all the competitive countries in Europe. Without an additional offering in terms of pattern, assortment, and quality, the drop in the exchange rate of the dinar, regardless of how many percentage points it falls, will never increase aggregate inflow from tourism: if the income denominated in dollars is to increase on that basis, the total spending of foreign tourists would have to increase faster than our currency is sliding downward.
2. Just before the end of July 1986 the National Bank announced that the country's debt at the end of last year was \$19.8 billion. According to the projection adopted for discharging foreign obligations, the total debt would amount to \$19.2 billion at the end of 1986. The year after that it would be \$19.5 billion, in 1988 it would be \$19.7 billion, in 1989 \$19.6 billion, and at the end of the decade \$19.3 billion. In absolute amounts, then, there would not be any appreciable change in the size of the debt. Total interest would as a consequence increase and during the nineties would reach an amount twice as great as that which is now being computed.

7045

CSO: 2800/361



ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

# INFLATIONARY, UNECONOMIC TAX SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 86 pp 27-28

[Article by Tomislav Dumezic: "Why the Tax Reform Is Being Put Off"]

[Text] Given this kind of tax system, there cannot be any very essential drop of inflation, nor can production and trade be invigorated. Progressive taxation of the portion of net income set aside for personal incomes above base rates would eliminate the need to prescribe the rate of accumulation.

This government has never had the courage or the interest to bring the tax burden into line with the economic capability of taxpayers, especially since the 1965 economic reform. That is why the turn was made toward almost exclusive taxation of trade and imports, which ensures a continuous inflow of revenues into the budgets of sociopolitical communities, while at the same time the appearance is created that taxes are low in Yugoslavia, and government administration is relatively inexpensive. As a consequence, economic benefits (the tax system and tax policy do not contribute either to structural or regional guidance of development, and all possible anti-inflation, benefits are absent) and social welfare benefits (the tax burden is in almost inverse proportion to the ability of taxpayers to pay taxes) are lacking, and inflation is rising.

With the cessation of the immense trade deficits and deficits in the balance of payments, it has turned out since the beginning of the eighties that neither turnover taxes nor customs duties, regardless of how abundant they might have been, were adequate to finance the interest on foreign credits and to cover the constantly growing domestic deficits. That is why a new tax instrument is being introduced--interest on credits for working capital. The fact that this amounts to an immense siphoning of income both within the economy and regionally as well as between the economy and the government is shown by the figures from year-end statements for 1985 and by figures from the quarterly statements for January-March of this year. Over the first 3 months of this year interest on credits came close to the total amount of net personal incomes paid out to all employees in the economy, and interest was almost 80 percent greater than the budget revenues of all sociopolitical communities in Yugoslavia. In a normal distribution of profit, in which economic organizations finance current production predominantly with their own money, the interest rate must be somewhat higher than the rate of inflation. Under our

conditions, because economic entities do not have an interest in preserving the value of property, and when there is an erroneous system for the computation of gross income and income, enterprises have been left without money of their own, and so through the National Bank of Yugoslavia the government has assumed the right of creating money and collecting interest. It is in that way that the National Bank is realizing revenues (illegal) which come close to the legal revenues (conventional taxes).

### Nothing Is Changing

It is well known to everyone that the Yugoslav tax system is inflationary, asocial, and noneconomic. The Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program called for it to be changed in both quantitative and qualitative respects. It was a question of reducing the tax burden, but also of transforming the tax system--reducing indirect taxes, above all the turnover tax, and increasing direct taxes (the personal and corporate income taxes). Practically nothing has been done up to this very day. The tax system has remained essentially the same: most of the revenues of the budgets of all sociopolitical communities in Yugoslavia come from indirect taxes. Direct taxes are in fact even becoming less important in quantitative terms. Their quality is a particular problem. What does it mean, for example, to tax the income of OUR's? Since in principle this is a proportional tax, it can be said that it is very close to an added value tax, which in turn is very close to our system of the turnover tax, and that means that we are dealing with indirect taxation. Taxation of individuals is a separate problem. The only tax instrument which corresponds to present-day tax principles--the tax on total income of individuals, does not for all practical purposes exist. It is paid almost exclusively by those employed in the socialized sector and individuals in the liberal professions who receive their income at the cash windows of organizations in the socialized sector and from their own giro account. Since the untaxed amount (not counting numerous exemptions) amounts to three average personal monthly incomes in the republic or province, the number of taxpayers is insignificant.

### Pattern of Budget Revenues

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>Amount in Billions</u>		<u>Pattern in %</u>	
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1985</u>
Total	391.8	1,260.1	100.0	100.0
Personal and corporate income tax	55.1	145.1	14.1	11.5
Tax on agriculture	1.5	8.7	0.4	0.7
Other taxes	8.8	29.7	2.2	2.4
Turnover taxes	237.2	740.3	60.5	58.7
Administrative fees	4.4	14.5	1.1	1.2
Customs duties and special import charges	69.3	286.0	17.7	22.7
Income of administrative agencies	11.3	23.4	2.9	1.9
Other income from individuals	4.1	12.5	1.0	1.0

In the period from 1982 up to the present time the pattern of budget revenues of all sociopolitical communities in Yugoslavia has undergone practically no change. Almost three-fifths of revenues are collected through the turnover

tax, and one-fifth through customs duties. The remaining one-fifth is made up of taxes on enterprise income, taxes on personal incomes paid out, taxes on farming and other economic activities, direct taxation of individuals, income of administrative agencies, and other income.

The share of the turnover tax in total revenues dropped 1.8 percentage points. Still nothing essential has changed, since three-fifths of budget revenues are still realized on the basis of this instrument. More significant changes have occurred in taxation of enterprise income and personal incomes paid to those employed in the socialized sector. The share of these revenues has dropped from 14.1 to 11.5 percent. Why? Sociopolitical communities (the republics or provinces and opstinas, which in fact have jurisdiction for introducing the tax on enterprise income and the tax on personal incomes paid out) have been under constant pressure to do what is referred to as providing tax relief to the economy. Since total budget spending has not decreased even in relative terms, and since obligations abroad have grown, while at the same time domestic deficits have increased, other revenues have grown, mainly illegal ones, predominantly those which are collected on the basis of interest on credits granted on the basis of primary note issue.

It is significant that direct taxes paid by individuals have not increased in real terms. Revenues collected from individuals have a share of 1 percent in the total revenues of all budgets, and that was also the situation in 1982. The farming tax is an exception; here the share has increased considerably, although the tax burden is even today negligibly low (the share of the farming tax amounted to 0.7 percent last year).

#### What About Today?

The agreements on the joint bases of the tax system and tax policy have not altered anything. Achieving uniformity of types of taxes and the manner of taxation in the republics and provinces has only solidified the present tax system, which has been meeting hardly a single economic or social welfare requirement.

It can be said that this year even that apparent tax relief to the economy resulting from reduction of the tax on enterprise income and the tax on personal incomes paid out has disappeared. Adoption of a markedly inflationary federal budget, which had to bring about an increase in the assessments on the republics and provinces to finance the Federation, has compelled the republics and provinces to increase their own sources of revenues. These revenues are by and large the tax on enterprise income and the tax on personal incomes paid out. That is why there has been a considerable redistribution of income to the disadvantage of the economy, since there has been an immense increase in the size of appropriations for government and social services.

The share of the tax on enterprise income and the tax paid on personal incomes in total budget revenues has increased considerably, precisely because of the increased assessments on the republics and provinces to fund the federal budget. The share of the turnover tax has dropped somewhat, even though the rates of the tax have not been reduced. The total amount of the turnover tax

collected was up 91 percent over the same period of last year, which means that the turnover tax is keeping up with inflation. The quite large increase of other revenues (159 percent for the tax on enterprise income and 155 percent for the tax on personal incomes paid to workers) signifies a real growth of budget expenditure and an increase in the share of the budget in the national income.

Nor are conventional taxes and the interest on credits granted on the basis of note issue the sole source for intensified inflation this year. This also applies to social service expenditure and also to the revenues of other organizations, communities, and funds of sociopolitical communities. Over the first 6 months of this year total revenues of SIZ's for the social services amounted to 1,603 billion dinars and they were up 125 percent over the same period of last year. The revenues of other organizations, communities, and funds amounted to 578 billion dinars. Total revenues of budgets, SIZ's for the social services, and the revenues of other organizations, communities, and funds reached a total amount of 3,186 billion dinars and showed a nominal growth of 109 percent (considerably higher than the rate of inflation). Over that same period the total net personal incomes paid out for all persons employed in the economy, in noneconomic activities, and in government bodies and agencies and organizations amounted to 2,493 billion dinars, while the net personal incomes of all persons employed in the economy, including their work communities, were 1,938 billion dinars. Don't these figures prove that the present volume of government and social service expenditure is untenable, that there is an urgent need to undertake optimalization of the social services, that it is indispensable to curtail the rights of beneficiaries of the services of social service institutions, especially those rights which at the present level of development can be considered a luxury and which are exercised mainly by privileged strata of the population? Sociopolitical communities have not this year undertaken any more severe taxation of individuals. The share of revenues paid by individuals has stayed at the same level or has even been declining. For example, the share of the farming tax dropped from 0.7 to 0.5 percent, while the share of proceeds from property and income on property amounts to only 0.5 percent. It turned out that it was much easier and less painful for the leadership structures in the republics and opstinas to raise taxes paid out of enterprise income and on personal incomes paid out by enterprises than to tax the income and property of individuals.

#### Possible Changes

Nor have there been any changes in the tax system and tax policy. There has now been an announcement of the possible taxation of inflationary income and introduction of tax exemptions for organizations which utilize capacity more fully. We have already written about the range of these changes. It is certain that they cannot contribute to achievement of the goals with which their sponsors justify them, nor will they contribute to changing the present tax system and tax policy. Every reform of the tax system signifies a radical change--essential reduction of indirect taxes, especially the turnover tax, along with a multiple growth of revenues from direct taxes, which is also essential--the tax on the income of enterprises and progressive taxes on the incomes of individuals (households).

# Budget Revenues Over the Period January-June 1986

<u>Indicator</u>	<u>Amount in Bil- lions of Dinars</u>	<u>Index Jan- Jun 85=100</u>	<u>Break- down, %</u>
Total	1,005.1	199	100.0
Tax on enterprise income and tax on personal incomes	176.2	248	17.5
On corporate income	87.4	259	8.7
On personal incomes of workers	63.5	255	6.3
On income from farming	5.5	177	0.5
Other	19.8	216	2.0
Turnover taxes	572.5	191	57.0
Basic turnover tax	388.4	190	38.6
Special republic	93.3	207	9.3
Special opstina	85.4	185	8.5
On proceeds from property, on income from property	5.4	179	0.5
Administrative fees	11.3	193	1.1
Customs duties and special import charges	229.7	189	22.9
Revenues governed by special enactments	6.1	184	0.6
Income of administrative agencies and miscellaneous income	9.3	163	0.9

It is very difficult to find an appropriate way of taxing economic entities because the entire economic system is altogether unadjusted to business operation which is not optimal. That is also why it is difficult to find the tax base, and it is difficult to decide between the two possible alternatives--proportional or progressive taxation of the base. Taxation of enterprise income is nothing other than an added value tax. This, then, is a conventional instrument for indirect taxation. Taxation of accumulation would yield negative results, since the motivation of economic entities would be aroused in the wrong way. Perhaps it would be optimal to undertake progressive taxation of that portion of net income set aside for personal incomes over and above the established base earnings which are paid out in advance and which would be relatively uniform regardless of the economic activity. Such a system presupposes a different method of forming personal incomes. It presupposes relatively uniform starting rates for various jobs, with corresponding departures on the regional and sectoral principle. Progressive taxation of the portion of net income set aside for personal incomes over and above the starting rates established in that way (by agreement) would eliminate the need for prescribing the rate of accumulation.

Taxation of individuals is another problem. When it comes to taxing income, there is only one optimum solution--progressive taxation of household income. There is no reason why the taxes which individuals pay directly at progressive rates depending on their economic condition could not be raised many times over. If only those employed in the socialized sector on the average set aside 10 percent of earnings on the basis of personal incomes for the tax, it would be possible to cut the basic turnover tax in half (this is the largest

item in the revenues of budgets and one of the significant sources of inflation) and to abolish completely the tax on personal incomes of persons employed in the economy and social services (this tax has nothing other than a fiscal function).

The other tax to be paid by individuals would be the property tax. It is certain that in quantitative terms it must be considerably smaller than the tax on income. Yet taxation of property could be advisable for two reasons: first, the present distribution of property, viewed from the standpoint of social welfare, is not altogether acceptable, precisely because of deficiencies in the tax system, and second, the taxation of property would be a way of influencing the pattern of personal consumption and investment. But influencing investment also presupposes a considerably freer economic system and considerably broader opportunities for investment both in small business as well as in the large-scale economy.

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CSO: 2800/361

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

#### FEC INTERVENTION IN CONSUMER GOODS IMPORTS EXPLAINED

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 86 p 1

[Excerpt] Although more than a month has passed since the FEC (Federal Executive Council) decision on providing \$200 million to import consumer goods, not one foreign trade organization has begun import procedures. About 50 requests to import goods from the FEC list have been submitted but not one has ... met the criteria.... This pertains especially to the priority which the FEC has given to importing from the clearing-account countries with which we have a trade surplus, and the priority it has given to payment of the difference between import and [domestic] retail prices to the account of the Federal Directorate for Reserve Goods, etc. Although the FEC has given priority to the clearing-account area, goods can be imported from any country if a favorable arrangement is made; that means, if the retail price of the imported commodity is at least 15 percent less than the same or similar domestically-produced commodity.

According to Tomislav Jovanovic, assistant in the Federal Secretariat for the Market and General Economic Affairs, intervention in consumer goods imports is expected to become a permanent practice in the coming period, in order that domestic producers compete with the world market. Consideration is being given to liberalizing imports of products whose prices are freely formed.

The FEC has allocated \$106 million to import the following goods which can be imported because of the high increase in the domestic prices: freezers, refrigerators, washing machines, electric stoves, irons, boilers, television sets, batteries, cars, auto parts and tires, tractors, bicycles, motorcycles, handbags, suitcases, gloves, leather wear, porcelain dishes, silk fabric, telephones, electric appliances, mixers, personal hygiene goods, chocolate, sporting equipment, musical instruments, and enamel ware.

In addition, \$40 million has been allocated to import the following goods because they are in short supply or have an insufficient assortment: transistors, cassette and tape recorders, wool and cotton fabrics, bedding, embroidered fabric, lining, photographic film and paper, watches, thermos bottles, eating utensils, and cameras.

This import is limited to 2-8 percent of consumption on the domestic market.

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CSO: 2800/375

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

#### BRIEFS

**TURBINES FOR NUCLEAR PLANTS**--In the new turbine factory of the SOUR (Composite Organization of Associated Labor) "Jugoturbina" near Karlovac assembly has begun of special machines as part of the first stage of work. The foundations are being prepared in a large hall for five main machines for manufacturing parts for turbines of up to 1,000 megawatts. All these machines are with numerically programmed control. It is expected that the parts delivery and assembly will take 4 to 6 months. With completion of the new factory "Jugoturbina" will be one of the 10 largest factories in the world which produce turbines up to 1,000 megawatts, largely for nuclear power plants. It is expected that by April next year the first stage in construction of the factory will be finished. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug-1 Sep 86 p 11] /8309

**CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY IMPROVES**--According to an analysis of the Market Research Institute in the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, the decline in the construction industry over the past several years has been halted. One-third of the surveyed work organizations are even exceptionally busy. These include builders who have adapted to the new situation on the domestic and foreign markets and who offer more small-scale work. The builders of high-rise buildings or apartments continue to be in the most difficult situation, but a good sign is the recent FEC decision to build 30,000 apartments under more favorable conditions. Largely because of the oil price decline, construction firms operating abroad do not expect more work than last year (which amounted to \$1,950,000,000 in value). [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 86 p 1] The decline in construction work which has been characteristic for the past 5 years has finally stopped. According to the Federal Bureau for Statistics, the value of construction production more than doubled in the first half of this year compared to the same period last year, and the number of employees rose 4 percent (there are at present 330,667 employed at construction sites within Yugoslavia). [Excerpt] [Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 86 p 28] /8309

**SUGAR BEET PRODUCTION**--According to initial estimates, the 5.8 million tons of sugarbeets harvested this year should be processed by the middle of September; from this 750,000 tons of sugar will be produced. Sugar beet processing will begin about 10 days later than usual because of the late harvest, since planting was not completed until mid-April this year. Because of frost and insect



damage, total acreage was reduced to 140,000 hectares from which average yields were harvested. Considering that reserves exist from last year's harvest, however, no supply problems are expected up to the fall of 1987. Annual industrial and household needs amount to 820,000 tons of sugar, which will be supplied, as will the approximately 100 billion dinars needed to purchase the beets for sugar mills. During this year's processing which is expected to last 80 days, sugar mill capacities will be used an average of 80 percent. This includes the processing of about 300,000 tons of sugar beets for Hungary. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 86 p 2] /8309

CSO: 2800/375

POLITICS

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

PEOPLE'S PRESS DAY--Tirana--People's Press Day was celebrated in Albania 25 August. On that day 44 years ago the first issue of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, organ of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, was published. The country's press enjoyed special development after the people's democratic revolution. Approximately 50 central newspapers and magazines are now published in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The ATA agency reports that ceremonial gatherings and meetings with well-known journalists were held in various districts of the country to mark People's Press Day, and photographic exhibitions devoted to the festival were opened. [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 86 Morning Edition p 4] /9604

CSO: 1807/390

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVLIN ADDRESSES ADVANCED SCHOOL OF POLITICS

LD012141 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] The new academic year began today at the Advanced School of Politics of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague with a meeting of members of its teaching staff, employees, and students. Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, addressed the meeting. He said that the new academic year is special because we have entered, shortly after the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress, the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and we are direct participants in the struggle of all progressive forces of the world for the removal of the threat of war.

He also stressed the fact that the qualitatively new contents of the tasks are dictated objectively by the needs of the time which we are entering. Thus, we have to see the importance of maximum utilization of achievements of socialism and the acceleration of its development. Comrade Havlin then went on to say that in the future, it will be necessary to create a climate of high standards at all schools and educational establishments. The basic task of the Advanced School of Politics is to contribute to the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th party congress, everywhere where it is necessary to explain at high level all that which is connected with the demands of the time.

The school also has important tasks in the development of scientific activity, above all, in the development of the international scientific-research cooperation with fraternal academies and schools. The party expects teachers, students, and all the employees to ensure that the Advanced School of Politics of the CPCZ Central Committee stands in the front ranks of fighters for the assertion and implementation of the line of the 17th party congress in the entire party and public life, Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed in conclusion.

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CSO: 2400/411

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FOREIGN MINISTRY ON DPRK N-FREE ZONE PROPOSALS

LD231552 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 23 Jul 86

[Text] Prague July 23 (CTK)--The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry fully supports the proposal of People's Korea for turning the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone of peace, a ministry statement published here today said.

The statement reacts to the declaration of the government of People's Korea in which People's Korea unilaterally refrains from nuclear tests, production, stockpiling and import of nuclear weapons and expresses its readiness to open talks on this subject with the U.S. Government and representatives of South Korea.

The declaration aims at easing tension and strengthening security in the Far East and in the whole world, the statement said, adding that it further develops the proposals of People's Korea for the conclusion of a peace treaty which would replace the present armistice agreement, for the adoption of a declaration on mutual non-aggression between People's Korea and South Korea, for the development of a dialogue between them, for a halt to extensive military exercises and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the south of the peninsula.

Czechoslovakia attaches great importance to the creation of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world and is convinced that it would contribute to the solution of the problem of nuclear disarmament, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry statement said.

The declaration is a valuable contribution to the peace policy of the socialist countries, their efforts for disarmament, especially in the sphere of nuclear arms, and for the restoration of confidence, necessary for the system of collective security in Asia and the Pacific, the statement said.

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CSO: 2020/197

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CATHOLIC ADDRESSES COURT ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

LD250332 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Jul 86

["Final" speech by Michal Holecek at his trial in Prague with five other Catholics arrested for possessing "typewritten or duplicated literature" and for looking after a "duplicating machinery, a typewriter, and other things"; date not given--recorded]

[Text] I am at a slight disadvantage because I am the last to speak and much of what I wished to say to the court already has been said. I will not spend time on a meaningless breakdown. All the defense counsels and my own defense counsel already have proved the noncriminal nature of duplicating or spreading literature. I would like to concern myself here now with general things surrounding this whole affair and those aspects which concern me personally for I am here as an accused.

I meet with a majority of people who are religiously indifferent, not even atheists at my workplace. Atheism presupposes a certain active approach against religion. I simply come across disinterest in religion. When I was arrested by state security [police] last April, I was driven away with such speed that I did not even have time to finish my coffee and when I was released as an accused after 4 days, all these people thought, and even asked me questions of this nature, that I was arrested for theft. You are repairing a house and so you must have stolen something, and so on. Or for similar criminal activity. When I explained to them, however, that I am being prosecuted because I have a large number of typewritten or duplicated literature in my bookcase and that on top of this I was looking after duplicating machinery, a typewriter and other things as stated in the protocol, all of these peoples' reactions, and there are communists among them, was surprised at the fact that such things can be a crime at all. In your bookcase you can have whatever literature you like; that is nobody's business. These were the reactions to my explanations about the fact of my case.

Here I would like to pause and enlarge on the finding which emerged from this. The majority of people ended similar conversations with the words of the sort: you Catholics have a bad time today only because you are Catholics. It is clear that the wide public is aware that believers, that is Catholics, do not enjoy full rights. If Catholics say this it can be described as a form

of moaning, but these are the opinions of people not involved in religious life and, therefore, they do not lack a certain objectiveness. I truly believe that I can have any literature on my bookshelves including that which is explicitly against the state--and I did not have such literature in my bookcase--without this being a crime. So, if madam prosecutor speaks about the religious political character of confiscated literature and about information on the church, and even about a clear slant against the socialist system, it is necessary to prove such a serious charge not just with claims but with proof.

In the case of information about the church, may madam prosecutor take one of the issues and by analyzing article by article let her show where this literature's antisociety slant lies. Even the article by Vaclav Havel: Power of the Powerless [moc bezmocnych], is not such literature, for the goal of this article is not a change in our society's political system but an improvement of conditions in our society. This work was confiscated from one of the other accused. The statement of Charter 77, which was confiscated in my home also is not such literature for this citizens' initiative of a group of people rather deserves discussion, and not confiscation of their documents and liquidation in a shredder. Titles such as bioethics, shorter history of religion, and others which were confiscated only are of interest to believers or rather a particular section of them interested in a deeper expansion of their religious knowledge. Their content certainly cannot be of interest to the members of state secret security as Major Ackerman himself said to me, for such people have rather a negative attitude to religion and these and similar titles are certainly not of a political character. And if the work of the internationally recognized author Karel Capek is listed as religious political literature, which is more than 60 years old, the work from 1924 Why I Am not a Communist, [proc Nejsem Komunistou] little more can be said.

It is a shame that the organs of state security and prosecutors office try believers because they publish literature themselves when they cannot publish it in the central religious publishing house. This literature certainly will not harm society. For example, one of the titles which I had in my possession was a few pages of an unfinished work on the life and death of the German Catholic priest Father Delp who was executed by the Nazis in 1945 for his part in the resistance. Such literature is evaluated by the prosecutors office as dangerous to society? I remember how when I was 16 I very much liked to read the works and memories of the communist writer Vancura who also was executed for his part in the resistance. Both of them have one thing in common: they went to the limit in their conviction and action so as to remain faithful to their conscience and conviction. It is a shame that the book about the Catholic priest could not be published. It could inspire people with its moral imperative to honest action just as others are inspired by the honest action of Vancura or other communists who went to the limit for their conviction.

My attention also was attracted in the charges by the formulation of madam prosecutor about the deviant explanation of religious freedom. This

formulation deserves theoretical analysis rather than criminal proceedings against people who in living their faith were governed by their conscience similarly to the way that Father Delp and Vladislav Vancura were governed by their consciences in living their conviction. For myself, I can say with a clear conscience that I practice my faith in a way which in no way conflicts with the law; on the contrary, it is protected by law which is given both by the Constitution and the regulation 120/76 of the collection of laws. It seems very strange to me that the state security of prosecutors office should decide about the extent of my freedom of religion.

When madam prosecutor spoke about the so-called conspiratory character of the activity of the accused she used the formulation that the accused knew atht there was something here which was not permitted, which is not in harmony with the law. I would like to use these words even though I will be forced to correct them a little. There truly is something here which is not so much not permitted but unhealthy in the relation between the church and state which is not in harmony with the law. For me personally the relationship of the church and state was reflected in the action of state security against me with the subsequent prosecution. A certain reflection also is this trial where believers are being tried for religious activity. And it is only to the detriment of society that much also is being said abroad about the poor church-state relations in our country. I would like to point out that this is not our fault; believers wish to live their faith in peace, to perfect themselves in its understanding, to educate their children in their faith, and surely no one wishes to deny me this right. This senate now has the chance to break the vicious circles of persecution of believers and their trials. Such a trial of believers is, unfortunately, not the first. A period of good relations between the church and state could begin by withdrawing the case against me and all the others and by returning the books which were confiscated to the libraries and not the shredder. I believe that the senate will responsibly evaluate all the aspects relevant to this trial, whether they are moral, personal, or eve political aspects. This is all I wanted to say to you.

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CSO: 2400/411

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LACK OF QUALIFIED TEACHERS IN PRAGUE REPORTED

AU021304 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 86 p 2

["(PN)"-signed report: "More Attention to Talents"]

[Excerpt] Prague--On 1 September the new school year will open in all schools with an hour of peace, during which pupils will be acquainted with the current international situation and the goals of International Peace Year.

Our schools will cooperate more efficiently with parents, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth Union, and possibly also the parents' employers. In 1-2 schools in each district we count on expanding the tuition of mathematics, natural sciences, and foreign languages. Increased musical instruction is also being assessed experimentally, so that beginning with next year one school in each region will be able to provide more exacting training for talented children.

Statistics tells us that the number of children in kindergartens has dropped by more than 25,000, and in elementary schools by 21,000. However, more pupils are entering grammar schools, secondary vocational schools, and secondary vocational institutions (the increase amounts to more than 10,500 pupils). In certain places this requires extraordinary measures, such as instruction in shifts and so forth.

A new subject is being introduced in grammar schools--informatics and computer technology; the preparation of pupils for studies at university level schools will be improved and a larger number of boys will be provided with motivation to take up studies.

In Prague 470 unqualified teachers will start teaching; the figure for the North Bohemian Region is 342. But we also lack teachers in certain other places, where the national committees are not providing the necessary conditions for young graduates.

Karel Cepicka, deputy minister of education in the Czech SR, on Thursday [28 August] briefed journalists in Prague on other aspects of the schools' preparedness and on the topical tasks following the 17th CPCZ Congress.

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CSO: 2400/411



POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OFFICIAL ON CONDITIONS FOR ALLOWING ROCK MUSIC

AU250816 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Jul 86 p 4

[Interview given by Josef Trnka, director of the Institute for Cultural and Educational Activity attached to the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, to Frantisek Fiala: "Rock Is Part of Being Young;" date and place of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [Fiala] Some time ago you participated in MLADY SVET [popular illustrated monthly for young people] in a discussion about the problems of rock music. Have there been any reactions to it?

[Trnka] Yes. And to tell the truth, they were mostly negative. I have received, for example, many letters in which our cultural organizations, including our institution, are accused of doing nothing for young music, of blacklisting this music and discriminating against it, of being indolent and taking no interest in this kind of music.

[Fiala] Is it so?

[Trnka] I do not know of any resolution or measure that would hamper or limit its development. Naturally, the green light will be given only to such rock music as meets the ideological and aesthetic criteria of our socialist society. This was also the tenor of the recent conference in Ceske Budejovice on amateur artistic activity. Primitive, banal, and sometimes even vulgar and ideologically unacceptable lyrics, excessive loudness, gravely deficient interpretation, and exhibitionism on the stage themselves close the doors to such music.

[Fiala] And what about the alleged lack of interest of the institutions?

[Trnka] I cannot speak for others. Speaking about our institute, however, I must admit that for a long time our staff regarded rock but also folk music as not respectable enough and dealt with them only marginally. But we logically had to react to the great interest of young people in this type of music. Our mistake was that we did so belatedly and only following criticism and on the basis of measures adopted by the Ministry of Culture. I am convinced that the problems and confused ideas about rock, in particular,

were caused by the inadequate, incompetent, superficial, and unsystematic attention paid to it in the past by other professional institutions and agencies, the press, but also the relevant union of artists.

[Fiala] You have mentioned adopted measures. What do these measures concern?

[Trnke] They concern the activity of the bands, raising the quality of work with people who are in charge of them, expanding publishing activity, influence on the audiences, the material and technical background, and so forth. The basic aim of the adopted measures is to substantially raise the ideological and aesthetic standards of young music, especially in the area of rock and folk.

We take part in the solution of a number of legal and economic problems concerning this type of music, such as the recent proposal to amend the guidelines governing the activity of amateur musicians. One of the cardinal measures approved by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Socialist Republic is the formation of clubs that should bring together those interested in young music. Following discussions with officials of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] and other organizations, we think that the optimal solution would be to let these clubs of young music operate within the framework of SSM clubs.

[Fiala] Is it easy for new measures to gain ground in this area, do they not run up against the wall of outdated views?

[Trnka] I do not want to be unfair to anyone. The vigilance of all responsible officials is absolutely well-founded. The problems are not few and we must constantly bear in mind the fact that precisely rock music is the medium through which bourgeois ideological subversion attempts to exert influence on our young people. But we must not approve of the cultural-political practice of many responsible officials in various institutions, establishments, and localities who lump the problem of young music all together and do not differentiate. Taking the administrative path, they simply keep young music out to forestall any trouble. But this approach will solve nothing. Rock and folk music are part of being young, whether some people like it or not. The majority of young people listens to this music and many collectives of amateur artistic activity perform it. I would like to stress that neither its nature nor its artistic or ideological aspects disqualify it from our musical culture. However, all responsible officials, including the staff of the Institute for Artistic and Educational Activity, must contribute to making this music correspond to the criteria of socialist culture. They must see to it that it does not disrupt the way of life and the thinking of our young people but, on the contrary, that it should enhance their aesthetic feeling and correct orientation in matters of world outlook.

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CSO: 2400/411

1 October 1986

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## SPECULATIONS ON CPCZ'S NEW ATTITUDE TO ROCK DISMISSED

AU211241 Prague TRIBUNA No 32 in Czech 13 Aug 86 p 1

[Robert Dengler commentary: "The Authorities Have a Grudge Against Them...."]

[Text] It was "the first experiment in a program called the 'East-Germanization' of rock music in the CSSR. In the seventies the GDR incorporated rock music into its official cultural policy with considerable success. The Czechoslovak Government had been far less tolerant in the past. The 1986 Rock Festival indicates that this policy is being seriously reconsidered with the CPCZ."

The addressee of these words about the Prague Rockfest [the first festival or rock music, held in the Palace of Culture early this summer] is the British reader because they were published by THE GUARDIAN. Let us add for the sake of accuracy--the uninformed British reader, although for years even so-called respectable information media in the West have been writing for years about modern music in socialist countries. But in many such cases their true interest does not lie with music at all. Their endeavor is to make their audiences, listeners, and readers believe that "the authorities only unwillingly tolerate rock music," that there exist "official attempts to stamp it out," and, in general, that "the CPCZ dislikes it".... Every appearance in public of specially selected groups (while our radio, television, and record production is passed over in silence) is spitefully depicted as a "victory for the liberal current and a defeat for the state." Is this deliberate manipulation or a naive belief?

Occasionally there were indeed expressions of distrust, which was understandable. But the distrust was not for the music as such but for a few of its protagonists. Some years ago the social discussion on this topic was also joined by TRIBUNA, on the basis of readers' urgent letters. It was asking questions, and seeking answers, on subjects such as: the social role of modern music; musical and esthetic education and training of performing artists and audiences; the role of relevant institutions in the development of some genres; the role of critics, who frequently "disregarded" the social function of "young" music; uncultured manifestations on stage and in the audience accompanying concerts; and the like.

All this was evaluated in the West as a "hard attack on nonconformist public appearance." Bands that ignored the elementary principles of decent behavior and socialist culture instantaneously found their protectors in the bourgeois information media. Disregarding the fact that the Czechoslovak press and citizens were criticizing specific manifestations that are alien to our way of life, they declared these bands "political victims of a regime that does not allow an independent development of the individual." But apparently the manifestations that came under fire are regarded in the West as a normal constituent part of life: brutality in lyrics and in the audience; a conciliant attitude, to put it mildly, toward drug abuse, decadence, and nihilism; and even outright political provocations.

It is interesting that bourgeois papers do not abandon this tone even in opposite cases, when our cultural institutions come up with an initiative to comprehensively improve the situation (even though there are still things that could stand improvement). This was also the case in connection with the Rockfest, which was not only a competition but also a plade for discussion. The British weekly THE ECONOMIST pondered whether this was an expression of a "new liberalism" or an attempt on the part of the state to gain "direct control" over the "spontaneity" of young people. THE ECONOMIST labeled as unconventional (this term is used in the West for bands that "fell into the disfavor of the Prague authorities") precisely those bands that received recognition in the Palace of Culture.... It was, however, no accident that it inserted into the article of its Prague correspondent the words of "some dissident" to the effect that what is involved is "no thaw." It is as if by establishing this peculiar connection the paper wanted to signal something about its intention. Or would otherwise this respectable magazine publish an article about amateur bands "somewhere" in Czechoslovakia, which does not usually get overly respectful publicity in Great Britain? It scarcely would. But it is rather difficult to "oblige" bourgeois information media. After all, "the authorities have a grudge" against what the West presents as a sensation....

Yes, this is their logic which we, however, will never accept. We will not accept it simply because we do not want to downgrade culture, including rock music, to mere "giving vent to youth spontaneity," something which is apparently needed in capitalist states. This is at least what we read in a report about the Danish "free city" of Christiania, which "writes freely about rock": "What is it that these young Danes are protesting against? We ask what they are doing.... 'Don't you see? We talk about rock music, drink beer, hand around.' But do you study, do you work? They reply: 'We do absolutely nothing!'"

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH DAILY ON EVERYDAY RACISM IN SLOVAKIA

AU260907 Bratislava SMENA Weekend Supplement in Slovak 22 Aug 86 p 7

[Exchange of letters, headlined "Our Foreigners," in the "A Letter for Alena" column, in which young readers seek advice]

[Text] Dear Alena, some people may find my problem ridiculous but even so I have decided to write to you about it.

I live in a district town in West Slovakia. There are all kinds of enterprises in our town, many of which employ a large number of foreign citizens.

From our citizens one can often hear not only derisive words about them but even blunt insults. No wonder scuffles develop from them. In such cases it is always the foreigners who get blamed even though the primary cause usually lies with the locals.

What upset me most of all was something that happened a few days ago in our public bath swimming pool. It was a hot day and the pool was almost full. When the foreigners arrived, the others immediately got out of the water. The pool attendant demanded that the foreigners make room although there was enough space for everyone in the pool. When they did not comply, he simply submerged one of the foreigners, a girl, and kept her head under water, waiting for the others to leave the pool.

Alena, who gave our people the right to offend and defame human dignity in such a blunt way? What have these foreigners done to them? After all, they, too, do an honest day's work and want to relax and enjoy themselves in their hours of leisure like everyone else. What light does such conduct cast on our citizens?

[signed] Sandra

Dear Sandra, many foreigners work and study in our Republic. But many Czechoslovak citizens also work (frequently under very advantageous conditions) and study abroad. It is not difficult to imagine the outrage that would be touched off if we saw that our honest working citizens are persecuted abroad. One of those who take part in the reprisals in your town may well have a relative staying temporarily abroad. Who knows?

We all know that none of those "foreigners" comes here for recreation and without a program. They are all citizens, mostly young ones, who help us in our factories. As we know, they do not usually occupy any leading posts but are plain workers. I do not rule out that negative features are to be found among them, but that is nothing abnormal--after all, they are only people.

It sometimes happens that our girls get entangled in complicated relationships with them, for which the foreigners then get blamed. But let us not be one-sided, two people are always necessary for such situations to arise. It is only natural that they, too, seek entertainment, company, and girls.

The incident that you have described is really deplorable. The behavior of the main protagonist was rude and disgraceful. I hope that it did not evade the attention of interested agencies.

[Signed] Alena

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CAUSES OF SMUGGLING NOTED, DRUGS APPREHENDED

AU021702 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Aug 86 p 4

[Peter Ondera article: "Gates Into Czechoslovakia; Season at the Border Crossings Gradually Drawing to a Close..."]

[Excerpts] The world of tourism, of enticing remote places, but also of smuggler and speculators, always has an air of tension and adventure for the uninitiated. But the members of customs administrations can merely raise an indulgent smile toward the attitude; for them it is a matter of everyday work, day and night. The director of the Central Customs Administration also views this realistically--56 million border crossings mean 56 million checkouts. Although at first glance it would not seem so, we have here an administrative act, with all that belongs to it. And the figure says that it is one of the most numerous acts carried out on Czechoslovak territory in general. Moreover, it is "complicated" by the fact that not all travelers submit willingly and frankly to this "act." Last year alone the customs officials registered 27,500 customs and foreign currency offenses; the state was to have been robbed of more than Kcs 46 million.

Digital watches and electronic goods are the most frequent commodities of smugglers. Even if this fact neither can nor does interest the customs officers, is it not a warning sign to our producers? For, in fact, there will be attempts to carry goods through customs, without reported them and without paying customs duty as long as the goods in demand are not available on our market or are not acceptably prices. Naturally, we do not say this because such behavior can be approved. On the contrary, in the interests of our economy it must be severely punished. But it is not always sufficient to eliminate consequences.

Even though drugs are not intended to land on our "market," they are nevertheless carried through in transit; and, in keeping with international agreements, our customs officers exert maximum effort to apprehend each and every "shipment." For instance, last year they uncovered eight instances of hashish smuggling; and at Ruzyně Airport in Prague it was possible to trace a network of 17 couriers of Asian origin and to apprehend 3 kg of heroin.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERVIEW WITH VISITING FINNISH PARLIAMENT SPEAKER

LD292208 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 Aug 86

[Interview with Finnish Parliament Speaker Erkki Topias Pystynen by an unidentified station reporter; Pystynen speaking in Finnish with superimposed Czech translation; date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] At the close of a visit to Czechoslovakia by a Finnish parliamentary delegation, the head of the delegation, Erkki Topias Pystynen, the speaker of the Finnish parliament, has given the following interview to a Czechoslovak radio reporter:

[Reporter] The speaker of the Finnish parliament, Erkki Topias Pystynen, at the beginning assessed the visit to Czechoslovakia with the following words:

[Pystynen] The visit to your country was interesting for us and meant a contribution for the entire delegation. Particularly important is the fact that we have acquired valuable knowledge about Czechoslovak society, which we shall be able to share with people back home.

[Reporter] The next question I put to him concerned Finland's attitude to the latest Soviet peace proposals, above all to the extension of moratorium on nuclear tests. Erkki Topias Pystynen replied:

[Pystynen] The Finnish people are very peaceloving. We back peace and oppose war under all circumstances. The recent proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev can contribute to strengthening peace and bring about disarmament as well as increase security for all mankind. We desire that international politics develop exactly in this direction.

[Reporter] There has been a great deal of talk recently about the need to create nuclear free zones in various parts of Europe. Where does he see the main contribution of these initiatives. This was the next question put to the Finnish parliament's speaker:

[Pystynen] Finland came up with the proposal to create a nuclear free zone in northern Europe. It was President Kekkonen who put forward this proposal



several years ago and we have been supporting it actively throughout that time. Now this idea is being championed by representatives of parliaments of Scandinavian countries and it is precisely now that a meeting of representatives of all political parties represented in parliaments, is discussing ways of supporting this proposal. We have also received with great pleasure a proposal to create a nuclear free zone in the Balkans and to create a corridor in central Europe, which would be free not only of nuclear but also chemical, and eventually biological weapons. Such initiatives can strengthen the process of disarmament and greater security in Europe and this is why we fully support them.

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CSO: 2400/411

1 October 1986

## POLITICS

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## HUSAK SENDS GREETINGS TO NONALIGNED SUMMIT IN HARARE

## CTK Coverage

LD010742 Prague CTK in English 1544 GMT 31 Aug 86

[Text] Prague Aug 31 (CTK)--Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak today appreciated the active participation of the Non-aligned Movement in the struggle for the preservation of peace in his message on the movement's 8th summit opening in the Zimbabwean capital tomorrow.

The message, addressed to chairman of the conference, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe pointed out that achieving a turn for the better in international relations is a common cause of all nations of this planet. The struggle for peace is closely linked with the solution of important global problems such as liquidation of the huge burden of indebtedness, overcoming economic backwardness, famine and poverty, diseases and illiteracy.

The Czechoslovak representative voiced the conviction that the conference results will help strengthen the unity of the Non-aligned Movement and further increase its influence in the world, contribute to the solution of the explosive situation in the south of Africa and removal of the degrading regime of apartheid, and will voice resolute support to the joint struggle for freedom and independent development of the nations of Asia and Latin America.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always stood on the side of the non-aligned countries in their struggle against world imperialism, colonialism and racism, for liberation of subjected nations and strengthening of their independence. It actively supports their effort to install more just relations between states on an equal and democratic basis and to create a new international economic order, the message said and stressed that the non-aligned states can fully rely on Czechoslovakia's internationalist solidarity also in the future.

## RUDE PRAVO Coverage

AU031210 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)--On the occasion of the eighth summit conference of the Nonaligned Movement in Harare, Zimbabwe, Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Com-

mittee general secretary and CSSR president, sent the participants in the conference and the conference chairman, Robert Mugabe, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, a greetings message.

In the message he expresses appreciation for the nonaligned countries' active participation in the struggle to preserve peace, halt the armament race, and avert a nuclear catastrophe, and for a just solution of conflicts and hotbeds of tension and a general normalization of the international situation.

He also points out that the achievement of a radical turn for the better in the development of international relations in the current complicated period, when the forces of imperialism--above all in the United States--are escalating feverish armament, is the common concern of all nations on our planet. The fight for peace is closely linked with the solution of significant global problems, such as the liquidation of the enormous burden of indebtedness and the overcoming of economic backwardness, hunger, poverty, diseases, and illiteracy which are particularly harassing the countries of the developing world.

The message expresses the conviction that the conference results will help consolidate the unity of the Nonaligned Movement and further strengthen its influence in the world; that they will contribute toward resolving the explosive situation in southern Africa and toward removing the opprobrious regime of apartheid; and that they will resound as a resolute support for the common struggle for freedom and independent development of the nations of Asia and Latin America.

The message then stresses that the CSSR has always stood at the side of the nonaligned countries in their fight against world imperialism, colonialism, and racism, and for the liberation of enslaved nations and the consolidation of their independence. The CSSR actively supports their efforts to establish more just relations between the states on democratic foundations and on the basis of equal rights, and to create a new international economic order. The nonaligned countries can continue to fully count on the international solidarity of the working people of socialist Czechoslovakia.

Gustav Husak concludes his message by wishing the participants in this significant international gathering full success in their deliberations and in their work in realizing the conclusions of the eighth conference.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PAPERS EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR LIBYA'S 'ANTI-IMPERIALIST' POLICY

LD010828 Prague CTK in English 0725 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] Prague Sept 1 (CTK)--Czech newspapers, commenting on the 17th anniversary of the revolutionary coup in Libya, today expressed support for the country's independent, anti-imperialist policy.

The Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO said Libya's decision to remove British and U.S. military bases from its territory shortly after the coup had aroused anger of the two countries, culminating, after years of hostile policy toward Libya, in the air raid on two Libyan cities last April.

The paper, stressing the April attack was a proof of the U.S. policy of state terrorism against those regimes that do not follow its line, said the U.S. was continuing its threats against Tripoli.

"Clouds of a new imperialist aggression are looming large over...Libya again," RUDE PRAVO said, adding the Libyan nation, resolved to defend its country, has the support of the whole progressive world.

The trade unionist daily PRACE said Libya's foreign policy had been "a thorn in the flesh of the U.S. Administration" for all the 17 years since the 1969 revolution.

"Because of its vehement stand opposing the U.S. interference in the Middle East, Libya has become the target for U.S. threats," PRACE stressed.

MLADA FRONTA, the youth union's daily, said Washington was "keeping its eye on Libya", sending a four-ship task force including the carrier "Forrestal" towards its coast. "But the Libyan people have for several times shown their determination to fight back any pressure, to defend the achievements of their revolution," the paper said.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CSSR-SRV S&T PROTOCOL--The 20th session of the subcommission for cooperation in science and technology between the CSSR and the SRV ended on Monday [7 July] with the signing of a protocol. On behalf of the CSSR, the protocol was signed by Karel Loebel, minister without portfolio of the Czech Socialist Republic, and for the Vietnamese side by Doan Phuong, vice chairman of the State Science and Technology Commission. The protocol comprises the cooperation plan for the 1986-87 period. The same day, Doan Phuong was received in Prague by Rudolf Rohlicek, first CSSR deputy premier. They expressed appreciation for the results of economic relations between the two countries thus far and discussed suggestions for their further intensification. The reception was attended by Nguyen Phu Soai, SRV ambassador to the CSSR. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /6662

HUNGARIAN DEPUTY AGRICULTURE MINISTER--Miroslav Toman, CSSR deputy premier and CSSR minister of agriculture and food, received in Prague on 15 July Gabor Magyar, Hungarian deputy minister of agriculture and food. They discussed agricultural results expected this year, "the restructuring of economic instruments in Hungarian agriculture, and the further orientation of the CSSR-Hungarian cooperation, especially in the field of biotechnologies, specialization in the production of enzymes, and in the sphere of production systems." [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /6662

MEDICAL EXPERTS FROM PRC--CTK--A delegation of top medical experts from the PRC, led by Gu Yingqi, vice minister of public health, arrived in the CSSR for a 10-day working visit. The guests will meet CSSR experts in cardiovascular diseases, burns, organ transplants, and traditional medicine. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /6662

JOURNALISTS VISIT PRC--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists, headed by Josef Valenta, deputy chairman of the organization's Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Czech Union of Journalists, arrived by air in Beijing yesterday [10 June]. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jun 86 p 7 AU] The delegation of the Czechoslovak Journalists Union, led by the deputy chairman of the union's Central Committee Josef Valenta, concluded its official visit to the PRC on 22 June and departed for home by air. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVA in Czech 23 Jun 86 p 7 AU] /6662

MINISTER ENDS PRC VISIT--Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR minister of fuel and energy, concluded his official visit to the PRC on 21 June and left Beijing for home. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 86 p 7 AU] /6662

PRC DELEGATION AT FILM FESTIVAL--Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations and deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received in Prague on 15 July a 3-member PRC delegation to the International Film Festival in Karlovy Vary, headed by Zhang Weng [name as published], leading worker of the PRC Ministry of Radio and Television. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /6662

STANDARDIZATION AGREEMENT WITH USSR--Belgrade (CTK)--An agreement between the CSSR and USSR governments on cooperation in the sphere of technical standardization metrology, and care for quality production was signed by Timotej Hill, chairman of the CSSR's Standardization and Measurement Office, and Georgiy Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR's State Committee for Standard, during the 60th session of the permanent CEMA commission for cooperation in the sphere of standardization, which was held in Svetozarevo [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jun 86 p 7 AU] /6662

TATRA TRUCKS FOR USSR--Prague (CTK)--Representatives of the CSSR's Motokov foreign trade enterprise and the USSR's Avtoeksport all-union foreign trade association signed in Prague on 23 June the first long-term contract up to the year 1990 for the delivery of 23,000 Tatra trucks of the T-815 series. The CSSR and USSR producers will also cooperate in further developing modifications of the trucks for Siberian builders, gas and crude oil workers. Motorkov will train Soviet drivers and repairmen and also provide servicing and technical centers. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /6662

CPSU CC 'CONSULTANTS' RECEIVED--A group of consultants of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Anatoli Shaloni [name as published in all dailies], which is paying a visit to the CSSR, was received in Prague on 25 June by Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Promotion. They discussed the CSSR's participation in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member-Countries Up to the Year 2000, and specific issues pertaining to deepening and expanding CSSR-USSR cooperation in science and technology in the coming period. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /6662

JAKES RECEIVES CPSU 'CONSULTANTS'--Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague on 26 June a group of consultants of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Anatoliy Shabalin [names as published in all dailies], which is visiting the CSSR to study the experience acquired from the implementation of the results of scientific-technical development and from the expansion of cooperation with the CEMA member-states in this sphere. [Excerpt] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /6662

TOURISM WITH USSR--According to Sergey Kulik, senior representative of INTURIST, the Soviet travel agency, in the CSSR, the CSSR and USSR exchange about 300,000 tourists every year. Czechoslovak citizens visiting the Soviet Union account for 160,000 of the total volume, but INTURIST's aim is to gradually achieve rough parity between the number of CSSR visitors in the USSR and Soviet citizens visiting Czechoslovakia. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /6662

JANAK AT WEST SLOVAK MEETING--In a meeting today in Bratislava, the West Slovak Regional Committee of the CPSL discussed the tasks of the regional party organization in raising the effectiveness of party work and of the activity of party members. A Presidium report delivered by Ignac Janak, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the [West Slovak] Regional Committee of the CPSL, emphasized that intensification of the region's economy demands a more decisive increase in the action-readiness of all party bodies and organizations, an improvement in the membership base, and better work from all communists, for it is their influence which frequently determines the development of the activity of whole work collectives and helps to foster a critical climate and an atmosphere in which shortcomings are tackled. The report adds that much more exacting criteria must be applied in assessing the influence of senior management, because the economic results over the last 7 months of the year for some enterprises and plants leave something to be desired, and the rate of intensification of the region's economy is slowing down. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 29 Aug 86 LD] /6662

UNIT TO PROCESS RADIOACTIVE WASTE--["JK"-signed report: "Mobile Unit for Liquidation of Waste"] Brno--The Nuclear Research Institute at Raz near Prague has developed and the Kralovopolska Engineering Plant in Brno has manufactured a mobile unit for solidification of radioactive waste, the MESA-1. It is designed to process low-level liquid waste from nuclear power stations. The unit permits the processing of liquid concentrates either by way of their direct fixation in cement or by their transformation into a solid, chemically stabilized form in a revolving calcinator. The volume of the radioactive product is substantially reduced in the process. MESA-1 has a number of advantages compared with similar units manufactured abroad, the main advantage being the advanced nature of its technology. The Kralovopolska Engineering Plant in Brno has already produced two units this year. Because of the topicality of this novelty, a model of the MESA-1 unit will be on display at the Brno engineering fair this autumn. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /6662

PANAMA SUPPORTED OVER U.S. 'SLANDERS'--Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal has sent a reply to a letter he received from Erich Arturo Delvalle, president of the Republic of Panama. In the letter, the president of the Republic of Panama expressed his profound indignation over the campaign waged by the United States to discredit the Panamanian Government, public officials and the Republic of Panama, and has asked the Czechoslovak Government for a reaction. The reply says that the Government and people of Czechoslovakia follow with concern the campaign of slanders unleashed in the media by U.S. reactionary political circles, slanders that are aimed at undermining the

internal stability of the Republic of Panama and its independent foreign policy with the objective of frustrating the implementation of the agreements on the Panama Canal. The Czechoslovak Government regards such conduct as a hostile act against the Republic of Panama, and voices its full support of the just efforts of the people and government of the Republic of Panama to attain national sovereignty over the Panama Canal and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Panama. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 2 Sep 86 LD] /6662

CATHOLIC CLERGY ACTIVITY--Hradec Kralove (CTK)--The Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy in the Czech SR organized on 26-28 August in Hradec Kralove what is already the seventh theological-peace and press seminar in succession. This year's meeting of almost 100 delegates of the association was devoted to two main topics: the International Peace Year and the 15th anniversary of the foundation of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy. The seminar participants recalled the 15 years of activity of the peace movement among the clergy, which testify that, jointly with the great streams of the peace movement, the association is orientating the priests and the believers under the conditions of our present-day world, so that the sacred gift of mankind's peace prospects are achieved by way of negotiations. The clergy spoke in support of the peace ideas of the approaching meeting of representatives of the Christian churches and of large world religions, which is to be held toward the end of October in Assisi, Italy. It is expected to lead the members of the diverse religions to resolutely speak--in this International Peace Year--in favor of peaceful life and to reject all that could lead to war and to the destruction of life. The members of the association visited Lezaky, where they paid tribute to the memory of the victims of fascist terror in the year 1942. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Aug 86 p 2 AU] /6662

MSZMP DELEGATION VISITS GABCIKOVO--A MSZMP delegation headed by Janos Berecz, secretary and member of the Politburo [latter title as heard] of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a working visit to Gabcikovo today. Accompanied by Ondrej Saling, secretary of the West Slovak Committee of the CPSL, and other representatives, the delegation members viewed the Czechoslovak part of the construction of the Gabcikovo-nagymaros barrage, the hydrocomplex on the Danube. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 3 Sep 86 LD] /6662

ALGERIAN MUJAHIDIN DELEGATION DEPARTS--Prague (CTK)--The official friendly visit of the National Organization of Algeria's Mujahidins to Czechoslovakia culminated in the signing of a joint communique. The three-member delegation, which was led by Yousuf Yalaoui, departed on Monday [1 September] to return to Algeria. At Ruzyne Airport the delegation was seen off by Lieutenant-General Frantisek Sadek. Ambassador Abdelhamid Latreche was also present. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 86 p 2 AU] /6662



POLICE SURVEILLANCE OF AUTHOR--[Unattributed report: "CSSR Author B. Hrabal Under Surveillance"] Czechoslovak writer Bohumil Hrabal (72) is said to have been under police surveillance ever since the publication of his latest work in the underground press in July. As could be ascertained, Hrabal and his wife have been repeatedly interrogated by the police. The work in question is an autobiography entitled "Pruklesty" ["Pruning"], in which the author describes his experience during the crushing of the Prague Spring in 1968. The same source claims that under pressure from the police Hrabal signed a declaration in which he denies his authorship of the work and even demands its destruction. Hrabal has repeatedly refused to emigrate. Many of his books that have been printed in the West in various languages have been published in the CSSR only underground. [Text] [Vienna NEUE AZ in German 28 Aug 86 p 29 AU] /6662

COLOTKA-LED DELEGATION LEAVES--Bratislava Sept 8 (CTK)--An official Czechoslovak Government delegation, led by Communist Party Presidium member and Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Peter Colotka, left today for Syria to attend the 33d international fair in Damascus. Czechoslovakia has participated in all the previous editions of the fair with its own expositions. This year, the exposition of 19 Czechoslovak foreign trade corporations is presented in an international pavilion on an area of 720 square metres. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0758 GMT 8 Sep 86 LD] /6662

JAZZ MUSICIANS ARRESTED IN PRAGUE--Prague, Sept 3 (AFP)--Six musicians belonging to an independent jazz performers group have been arrested and charged with "earning money illegally," an informed source said here Wednesday. If convicted, the source said, each could be sentenced to up to eight years in prison. The source said Karel Srp, president of the jazz section of Czechoslovak musicians was arrested Tuesday along with Vladimir Kouril, Joska Skalnik, Cestmir Hunta, Tomas Krivanek and a sixth musician identified only as Drda. The jazz section, created in 1971 and a member of the International Jazz Federation at UNESCO's Music Council, was outlawed here in 1978. Another jazz musicians, Vlastimil Marek, 40, the source said, was arrested on August 5 as he prepared to participate in a "Gong for Peace" concert played simultaneously here and in New York, Tokyo and Paris. He was charged with spreading false information about Czechoslovakia abroad. The jazz section had recently announced plans to campaign against repression in Czechoslovakia at the November Conference on Security and Cooperation in (CSCE), scheduled to be held in Vienna. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 3 Sep 86 AU] /6662

TU MEETING FOR PEACE--Prague Sept 8 (CTK)--A two-day meeting of trade unionists from Hungary, GDR, Poland, Austria and Czechoslovakia opened here today within a Day of Trade Unions Actions for Peace. The Day of Trade Unions Actions for Peace, taking place for the fifth time this year, is an occasion for assessing cooperation of the peace forces in their struggle for averting the nuclear threat and for disarmament, Secretary of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Trade Unions Viliam Kozik said in his opening speech. He denounced the aggressive policy of the United States and highly appreciated the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, especially the latest extension of the moratorium on nuclear tests. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1155 GMT 1 Sep 86 LD] /6662

GREETINGS ON SRV NATIONAL DAY--Prague Sept 1 (CTK)--Czechoslovakia fully appreciates the peace foreign policy of Vietnam, which, together with Laos and Kampuchea, strives to change Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation. This point was stressed in a congratulatory telegram sent by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak and Premier Lubomir Strougal to Vietnamese Communist Party General Secretary and President Truong Chinh and Premier Pham Van Dong on the 41st anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of Vietnam. The peace initiatives of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are a significant contribution to strengthening peace and security in the whole Asian-Pacific region, and to the worldwide struggle for averting the danger of nuclear conflict, the telegram stressed. It stated that traditional friendship and all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam and between their parties and nations have been successfully developing and extending in the spirit of the Czechoslovak-Vietnamese treaty of friendship and cooperation on the basis of principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and to the benefit of strengthening unity of the countries of the socialist community. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1437 GMT 1 Sep 86 LD] /6662

DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS GROUP--Prague Aug 22 (CTK)--A delegation of the Danish Social Democratic Party, led by its foreign policy spokesman Lasse Budtz, left here today for home. They were seen off at Ruzyně Airport by representatives of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, headed by its chairman Bohuslav Kucera. During their three-day visit, the Danish guests held talks with Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of the People of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Miroslav Stepan and deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front Tomas Travnicek. The Danish delegation was here at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1408 GMT 22 Aug 86 LD] /6662

ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER--Prague, Aug 18 (CTK)--Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today Ethiopian Foreign Trade Minister Wollie Chekol, who leads an Ethiopian delegation to the 5th session of the inter-governmental Czechoslovak-Ethiopian Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation and Trade. Their talks focused on the present state of cooperation between the two countries which develops in the spirit of traditional friendship linking the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia. Lubomir Strougal and Wollie Chekol emphasized the interest in further extension of mutual relations in economy and other spheres in the next few years. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1543 GMT 18 Aug 86 LD] /6662

CSO: 2020/197

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT REPORT SUBMITTED

Honecker Response Speech

LD011625 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1015 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] Berlin, 1 Sep (ADN)--On the occasion of the delivery of the peace report, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, gave the following speech on Monday in Berlin:

"I receive with heartfelt gratitude and great pleasure, on this day of international peace, the peace report about the activities of all classes and strata of our people in the international United Nations peace year, 1986. It shows in a clear way that the citizens are making the policy of the 11th Party Congress their own and are implementing it.

As you know, our main concern is to do everything for the well-being of the people, everything for the happiness of the working people. Peace is the most important thing for this. Thus our policy aimed at disarmament, peace is the most important thing for this. Thus our policy aimed at disarmament, security, and fruitful cooperation is a logical result of our aims and of the nature of our socialist society. Our contribution to the preservation of humanity from a nuclear, worldwide inferno and our policy for the well-being of the people and for shaping developed socialist society in the GDR constitute a firm single entity.

This close correlation is understood by the citizens of our country in a profound way and has become the leitmotiv of their activity. This is clearly apparent throughout the impressive peace report which they have handed over. It is expressed in the slogan "my workplace--my place of battle for peace."

You have quite rightly ascertained, dear friends, that literally our whole people are among the ranks of the worldwide peace front, of the increasingly powerful coalition of political realism and reason. Such a great desire for peace, such industry and ability, such personal commitment are behind the outstanding performances and results which are represented in this report. On behalf of the party and state leadership of the GDR I would like to express heartfelt gratitude and high esteem to all citizens for their good deeds.

On 1 September 1939, with the treacherous attack on Poland, the bloodiest war in the history of humanity started. In the GDR we have been obligated by experiences of history to ensure that war never again emanates from German soil. Fascism, imperialism, and militarism were removed root and branch from our territory and the roots of aggression and war thus readicated for ever.

Today, 41 years after the end of World War II, international peace day serves as an especially topical warning. The world is at a crossroads. In the nuclear space age, the preservation of peace decides the further existence of the whole of humanity. In an atomic war there would be neither victors nor vanquished; all that would remain would be a radioactive desert.

This demands the decisive rejection of all striving for military-strategic superiority. It demands that everything is done to secure the future for humanity. Security is only possible with each other and not against each other. A nuclear inferno coming from space or from earth must be prevented through the joint action of all for whom a peaceful future is dear. In this cause, the worldwide movement for peace and disarmament which these days is preparing for new struggles in United Nations disarmament week, as an extremely powerful force.

It is not only necessary but also possible to prevent, in good time, the most aggressive forces, whose course of arms build-up and confrontation threatens to pitch humanity into the abyss of self-destruction, and to clear the way for a peaceful world. It is, above all, a question of reaching specific agreements on nuclear disarmament with the aim of removing all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. We also are in favor of a drastic reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

With the decision announced by Mikhail Gorbachev to extend the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests for a further 5 months, the Soviet Union has once again done a great service to the cause of world peace. The demand is being made worldwide with even greater intensity that the U.S. administration does not miss the historical chance and reacts positively. An agreement on ending all nuclear weapons tests which, as Mikhail Gorbachev said could be signed this year at a Soviet-American summit, would be a significant step forward. It would thus be possible to stop the development of even more cruel and less controllable weapons of mass destruction, to accelerate the removal of nuclear weapons and to introduce a change from the arms race to disarmament.

The USSR, the GDR, and the other states of the Warsaw Pact, as is known, in United Nations peace year announced from Budapest a complex peace program which takes in all forms of weapons. The initiatives of the SED, the CZCP, and the SPD to create a chemical-weapons free zone in Europe is part of this constructive policy, as are our efforts to work out together with the SPD a proposal for the creation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor in Central Europe.

At no time has the fate of humanity depended so directly and to such a high degree on what aims and slogans the majority of people follow, and whether, and to what degree, the world conscience determines world development. More than ever it is a question of winning over as many people as possible for active work for peace and disarmament.

It is becoming increasingly clearly recognized by the international public from which side measures and a solution acceptable to all for limiting armaments and for disarmament emanate. At the same time, under the influence of these initiatives the intentions of those people who are piling up explosive material through a policy of strength and of continued arms build up, and who are fanning regional conflicts are coming more clearly into view. Precisely the U.S. "star-wars" program is causing a rise in the number of voices of those expressing concern and warning against the deadly risk which is thus being taken.

The more people understand where the danger of war lies and by what means it may be averted, the more powerfully will their struggle for peace unfold. One can state with satisfaction that the appeal of a worldwide coalition of reason and realism, despite all opposition, is growing constantly. Thus the development of a movement of peaceful forces of hitherto unknown political and social breadth is demanded. The defense of the life and the existence of our planet is a universally historic task. The struggle for peace today is developing in all countries. Public forces, political parties, trade unions, youth, womens', and cultural organizations, scientists and artists, believers in various regions, states and groups of states such as the group of six, which only recently publicized the Mexico declaration, are part of the powerful movement for peace.

To work to strengthen it, to conduct businesslike political dialogue and to advance cooperation, to develop relations of peaceful coexistence is and remains the desire of the GDR. The knowledge which in our country has become a current expression "to negotiate is better than to shoot" has special significance at a time when the world report gives numerous examples of how political dialogue is being variously conducted through conversations and meetings, at international conferences and forums. Through the initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist countries to ensure a peaceful common life, and good-natured relations among the states, it is receiving constant, new stimuli.

On behalf of the party and state leadership of the GDR I declare on International Peace Day 1986 that the GDR will in future also stand in the front ranks of the defenders of peace. We will do everything to ensure that the children and their parents, the citizens of our country, indeed all the people of Europe and the world are preserved from nuclear destruction. We are inspired by the ideal of a world without wars and without weapons. We are acting with all our power for this to become reality.

#### Members Identified, Quoted

LD012230 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1548 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] Berlin, 1 Sep (ADN)--Commitment to peace was the subject of numerous talks which Erich Honecker conducted with representatives of the GDR peace movement following the handing over of their report.

Prof Dr Karl Oanius continued what the Council of State chairman said concerning the GDR striving for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in the center of Europe. He had recently been in Berkeley, California, the director of the Institute for High Energy Physics said, and noted that this initiative had met

with a significant positive response among prominent scientists in the United States. There is a lively interest in realizing this idea.

Prof Dr Karlheinz Lohs reported from the experiences of the work for the creation of a chemical weapon-free zone in Europe, how through such initiatives, which are resolutely supported by the GDR, peace forces in numerous countries may be mobilized.

The joint proposal worked out by SED and SPD, the initiative of the governments of the GDR and CSSR for the creation of such a chemical weapon-free zone has given a world-wide impulse. This testifies to the fact that important initiatives can also be given at the regional level in order to serve the consolidation of world peace. Progress in this area is all the more important since binary weapons represent a new stage in the development of still more dangerous weapons of mass destruction.

Erich Honecker thanked the scientists for their active international work. Addressing Prof Dr H.C. Manfred van Ardenne he paid tribute to his journalistic activities, which have contributed in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and in other media to enlightening the people on essential scientific aspects of the development of nuclear weapons of mass destruction, their danger, but also the scope which exists to limit and reduce them.

The head of the synod, Dr Rainer Gaebler, emphasized in a further talk that the church considers the task of working for peace as one among many. Faced with the nuclear threat it is becoming increasingly urgent and is a challenge for the church to testify to and act. At a time when we face the danger of increasing nuclear armament, a new approach is necessary, he said. The synods of the church have likewise given thought to this and tried to speak out from the Bible's viewpoint.

He continued: We welcome--and I would like to stress this, in particular--those proposals made this year by the Soviet Union concerning complete nuclear disarmament by the year 2000 and the continuation of the moratorium. The church views with satisfaction the link between domestic and foreign policies which also corresponded to the Helsinki Final Act.

Erich Honecker thanked the head of the synod and referred to the peace report just submitted which is supported by all the forces of the country who are working resolutely for peace. It is gratifying that the evangelical church, too, is very active in this area. The extreme danger to mankind's existence emanating from the nuclear arms drive makes it virtually a duty to ignore matters which cause division and to concentrate all thoughts on safeguarding peace. The present generation owe that much to the coming generations, their children and childrens' children. Everything else can be solved once peace was secured. Today it is a question of to be or not to be.

Erich Honecker next addressed the president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, who displayed the badge of persecution by the Nazi regime on his sleeve. The two recalled the time of struggle against fascism which, as Helmut Aris noted, decimated and almost eradicated the Jewish

community. Together in that difficult time they went through the fascist hell, Erich Honecker said, and his interlocutor added: We must ensure that there will be no more hells.

Erich Honecker expressed his great appreciation for the work of the Christian Peace Conference. In the fight for peace everyone belongs together, irrespective of whether one is Catholic or Protestant, Marxist or non-Marxist. Society is shaped jointly in such a way that good coexistence is ensured. We have always waged this fight, he underlined.

/8918

CSO: 2300/559

POLITICS

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS POLITICAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

AU252111 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 21 Aug 86 p 1

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the RCP Central Committee on 20 August.

During the meeting, the PEC examined the results of the recent meeting of the party and state aktiv in agriculture and of the meeting on exchanging experience held in Olt County on that occasion. It was assessed that both the meeting and the exchange of experience were particularly fruitful since they permitted the drawing of important conclusions on agricultural activity in the first half of the current year and on measures that have to be taken to harvest all crops under favorable conditions and on schedule and to properly prepare for next year's harvest.

The PEC greatly appreciated Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative in connection with organizing this meeting and the speech made at the end of the proceedings which, through its guidelines, tasks, and recommendations, constitutes an extensive and comprehensive program of work aimed at concluding this year's agricultural tasks with optimal results and at achieving the targets put forward by the 13th party congress in connection with developing and modernizing agricultural output and successfully promoting the new agrarian revolution in our country.

During the meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, after assessing that on the whole larger yields have been achieved than last year, matching even one of the better crops achieved so far, stressed that it is necessary to make great efforts and take firm measures to properly organize the activity of spreading widely the experience of front-ranking counties and units, so that results are up to the possibilities and conditions available in our socialist agriculture and up to the requirements and provisions stipulated in the plan for this important branch of our national economy. Stressing that this year's achievements in some counties and agricultural units demonstrate that the targets put forward by the party aimed at achieving the new agrarian revolution are realistic and possible to achieve, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the PEC members, the government, ministries, leadership cadres, the entire party and state aktiv in agriculture, and all working people in that



sector to proceed with great determination to applying the conclusions drawn at the meeting and to implementing the programs adopted in connection with preparing and furthering the fall crop harvesting campaign, the sowing of grains under optimal conditions, on schedule, and according to densities established by law, the completion of all fall operations in the fields and other work aimed at increasing the productive capacity of the soil in order to ensure next year the best harvest ever known in Romania's history.

To give an impetus to efforts aimed at achieving large yields, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu proposed at the PEC meeting the setting up of the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" and of an appropriate medal which will be conferred on counties, units, and cadres in agriculture which achieve large yields matching the requirements of the new agrarian revolution in our country.

Assessing the positive results achieved by agricultural workers in Olt County, the first county in our country that has fulfilled the targets of the new agrarian revolution, the PEC decided, on the basis of the proposal made by the party secretary general, to grant the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" to Olt County, to the first secretary of the county party committee, to certain units, and certain cadres in that county's agricultural sector. At the same time, this title shall be granted to all units which have achieved more than 8,000 kg of wheat per hectare this year.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the conviction that the measures established during the meeting in connection with perfecting the remuneration system in agriculture and the system of setting up, for this purpose, the stock of agricultural products for the compensation of work, and the other measures aimed at giving an impetus to agricultural work will be welcomed by all peasants and all working people; he also expressed the conviction that all these measures will be directly reflected in a constant improvement in the activity of that sector, in larger and larger agricultural, vegetable, and livestock products, and in increasing, on this basis, the peasantry's incomes and the general standard of living of the Romanian village.

During the meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu assessed the organization and progress of the Dimbrovita River drainage and modernization work--and important hydroengineering project included in the general plan on the development and embellishment of our homeland's capital. The party secretary general conveyed congratulations to the workers, technicians, and specialists, as well as to the chairman and managerial council of the National Council of Water Management for the way they organized this very important operation and requested that the positive experience gained in organizing work on this work site should be studied and then widely applied on the country's construction sites in other areas as well.

The PEC then discussed a number of problems regarding the implementation of the programs on perfecting activity in various areas of the economy.

Within this framework, the meeting examined and endorsed:

--The report on observing consumption norms for raw and other materials, fuel and energy for the first half year of the current year compared with the same period in 1985 and on measures aimed at further cutting back on consumption;

--The report on the utilization of machines, equipment, and installations in industry, construction, and transportation in the first half of 1986 compared with the first half of 1985;

--The report on fulfilling the labor productivity plan and establishing correlations between main labor indexes and remuneration in the nation's industrial, construction-assembly, and transportation branches in the first half of 1986 compared with the first half of 1985;

--The report on ensuring and controlling product quality and the establishment of weights and measures in the second half of 1986; and

--The report on improving the activity of financial control in the economy.

In connection with all these problems, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu drew attention to the need to act with even greater determination and sense of responsibility to optimally implement the provisions envisaged in those programs, to make complete use of production capacities, cut back on raw and other materials, and energy consumption in all areas of the national economy, increase labor productivity and further improve product quality, increase economic efficiency, and perfect the activity of financial control in the economy. The party secretary general requested, on this occasion, too, that priority attention be paid to fulfilling the export production and to honoring all contracts with foreign partners under the best of conditions, on schedule, and according to the required product quality. All necessary measures must be taken so that the August export plan is fulfilled in its entirety by all units and in all branches of the national economy.

Proceeding from the general economic activity carried out in the first half of the current year and from the need to do all we can to optimally fulfill this year's plan and the overall 5-year plan, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the government, the ministries, industrial centrals, and the PEC members responsible for the activity in various economic sectors to take action so as to bring about a radical change in methods and work styles in the economy, to introduce everywhere a sense of great order and discipline, and of responsibility to optimally fulfill the tasks entrusted to the cadres in the economy at all levels, from top to bottom.

During the meeting, the participants also examined and endorsed the report on the activity carried out in the first half of 1986 to resolve the proposals, notifications, complaints, and requests forwarded by the working people to the party leadership.

The PEC asked the country, municipal, and city party bodies, ministry leaderships, and the other state central bodies, as well as mass and civic organizations to continue to act with great determination and responsibility and in the spirit of measures established by the 1-2 April RCP Central Committee plenum of the current year to speedily and competently resolve all proposals, notifications, and requests by the working people and to prove receptivity and solicitude toward any kind of problem of a general or personal nature raised by the working people in conformity with the country's laws and with the norms of ethics and equity in our socialist society.

The PEC examined and endorsed the proposals on Romania's initiatives at the 41st UN General Assembly session whose proceedings will open on 16 September. The PEC established that the Romanian delegation should actively promote Romania's stance and President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept on the need to halt the arms race and proceed to tangible disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament measures, to renounce the use or threat of force in international relations, to resolve conflicts and disputes between states by peaceful means and negotiations, to seek a global solution to the problem of underdevelopment, including the foreign debts of the developing countries, and to establish a new international economic order. The delegation of the SR of Romania will act to perfect and expand its activity within the United Nations.

The PEC also examined and endorsed the mandate of the Romanian delegation to the eighth conference of the chiefs of state or government of the nonaligned countries that will take place in Harare 1-6 September 1986.

The PEC expressed the conviction that the upcoming conference in Harare will contribute to the more vigorous development of the Nonaligned Movement, to strengthening its unity of action, and to increasing the role of those countries in the international arena in the struggle for a policy of independence, detente, cooperation, and of promoting peace and understanding among nations. The Romanian delegation will reaffirm Socialist Romania's militant solidarity with the efforts of the nonaligned countries and the developing countries aimed at overcoming the problems facing them and with the actions they take to ensure peace and international cooperation.

During the PEC meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, referring to certain current international issues, stressed the importance of the new proposals made by the Soviet Union and presented by the CPSU Central Committee general Secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, regarding the prolongation of the unilateral moratorium on the cessation of nuclear testing up to the end of the year. Welcoming these proposals, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reaffirmed the party's and our country's determination to actively support these measures and renewed, on this occasion, too, the call on the United States to respond in an appropriate way, so that tangible and mutually acceptable accords on halting nuclear testing can be reached as soon as possible, already this year. The party secretary general stressed in this context the need for all peoples, world public opinion, and peace-loving forces everywhere to intensify their

activity and actions to bring about the cessation of any kind of nuclear testing and the conclusion of tangible accords on halting the arms race and proceeding to disarmament. The cessation of nuclear testing would demonstrate the real wish to proceed to halting the arms race, would meet all peoples' wishes and expectations aimed at removing the danger of a nuclear war and at living in a lasting atmosphere of peace and complete security.

The PEC meeting also resolved current questions of party and state activity.

/6662

CSO: 2020/196

POLITICS

ROMANIA

# CONFERENCES PRECEDE WORKING PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

AU271816 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1558 GMT 27 Aug 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/8/1986--Conferences of the representatives of the people working in industry, construction, transport, goods circulation and finance are held in Romania's county seats and Bucharest Municipality, on the eve of the Third Congress of Working People. Those meetings debate questions related to the fulfillment of the previous congress resolutions, the achievements scored by counties in the five-year period spanning 1981-1985, the steps taken to fulfill the tasks under this year's plan and for the whole five-year period spanning 1986-1990, the tasks devolving on working people's councils with a view to improving product quality. Moreover, those meetings make nominations for the National Council of Working People, which will be elected by the congress; the candidates were designated by the working people's general meetings held over the past two months.

All those forums are major components of the system of direct democracy that assists representative democracy in Romania; the former's setting up may be assessed as one of the major revolutionary changes wrought over the last few years in the management of Romanian society.

All the economic units in Romania work according to the principle of worker self-management. The working people's general meetings, which gather three times a year to debate major questions concerning production activities are their supreme decisionmaking forums. They endorse the production plans which the enterprises work out self-reliantly, according to the single national plan indicators, sanction income and expense budgets, approve--or disapprove of--the activity carried on by the administrative management.

Current activities are run by the working people's councils, with a membership of fifteen up to thirty-five, with workers, foremen and other people directly employed in production making up at least thirty percent. Besides those representatives elected by the general meeting, the secretary of the enterprise's RCP organization, the trade union chairman, the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] organization secretary, the person chairing the women's commission, as well as a number of members appointed by the enterprise's hierarchically superior body, according to the proposals made by the general meeting (executives of the enterprise and other specialists) are de jure

members of the working people's councils. In that widely representative format, the working people's councils lay out the goals included in yearly and five-year plans, the income-and-expenses budget, they approve the financial balance-sheet, they see to personnel training, brush-up courses, employment and promotion and control the implementation of the steps regarding the betterment of the working people's working and living conditions.

The operative management of activities in the economic units is ensured by an Executive Bureau of the Council of Working People, designated by the council.

There are councils of working people at a county, as well as at a national level. The National Council of Working People annually debates government reports on the fulfillment of the economic and social development plan and permanently surveys the way in which ministries, industrial departments and enterprises work for the application of the collective management principles in all their activities. The council has law-making initiatives, and the draft normative acts of a general interest drawn up by other bodies are submitted to it for debate before they are advanced for endorsement to the Grand National Assembly or the State Council.

County conferences and the National Congress of Working People are convened once every five years. The latter, which will be held early in September this year, is considered as the most representative forum of the working class in Romania. The congress will be attended by eleven thousand delegates and invited guests. Every enterprise will be represented. The forthcoming congress will debate a wide range of topics, related to the five-year plan fulfillment, the implementation of the programme for the improvement of product performance and quality, the updating of production processes in enterprises, the further improvement of the economic and financial mechanism, the programme for a higher living standard in the ongoing five-year period. The congress will also elect the new national council of working people.

[Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1700 GMT on 27 August carries a similar item which adds the following:

["The county conferences were attended by the following comrades: Ion Coman in Alba; Miu Dobrescu in Arad; Constantin Radu in Arges; Maria Ghitulica in Bistrita Nasaud; Constantin Dascalescu in Brasov; Cornel Pacoste in Braila; Nicu Ceausescu in Buzau; Ludovic Fazekas in Cara Severin; Ion Dinca in Constanta; Emil Bobu in Dolj; Nicolae Constantin in Galati; Stefan Andrei in Gorj; Petru Enache in Harghita; Lina Ciobanu in Iasi; Iosif Banc in Maramures; Dumitru Popescu in Mures; Richard Winter in Salaj; Ioan Totu in Sibiu; Gheorghe David in Teleorman; and Ion Ursu in Vilcea County."]

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CSO: 2020/196

POLITICS

ROMANIA

#### RCP POLICY OF LEVELING INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENTS

AU261953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0851 GMT 26 Aug 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/8/1986--The growth of the forces of production, the most dynamic of the factors of social progress, was set by the Romanian Communist Party to serve its twofold aim of improving the standard of living, materially and spiritually, and of creating equal living and working conditions across the country.

Adding to a generally unsatisfactory performance of the economy in 1945 were its disjointed structure and an imbalanced distribution of the forces of production in the territory. The social product was worth a low 66 thousand million lei, with the national income standing at 25 thousand million lei to which industry contributed just 26 per cent.

The Romanian Communist Party worked out a policy the aim of which was to balance the growth of the forces of production in the territory, as part of the general concept of planned economic and social development, of the creation of a unitary national economic complex with local and branch structures harmonized into a whole. The general priorities of development were the basis on which the policy of distribution of the forces of production across the territory was built: the fast growth of the economic potential of every country of its industrial potential first of all, the development of the raw material, energy and fuel sources, production concentration and integration, cooperation in production, the creation of a rational structure of the forces of production in each county and the ensurance of a properly trained work force for every field.

The earmarking of a good part of the national income for accumulation--steadily put at about one third since the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965 provided for the fulfillment of wide-ranging investment programmes that materialized in 2,780 thousand million lei worth of fixed assets, up about six times from 1965. Fixed assets per working person also grew from 106,900 lei worth in 1965 to 363,900 lei in 1985 i.e., 3.4 times. The growing fixed assets were accompanied by changes in their distribution by branches, with industry accounting for over 45 per cent of the total, from 31.8 per cent in 1965.

Significant were the changes in the distribution of capital assets by counties. In 1985 the counties that used to have the fewest (Bistrita, Salaj, Covasna, Satu Mare) were ahead of those ranked at the top in 1945 and level with the best placed counties in 1965.

A policy of harmoniously distributing the forces of production in the territory has leveled up the industrial potential of counties. So, for instance, the electronic industry is located in every county (from just twelve in 1965) ferrous metallurgy in thirty-one counties (against eleven) plastic materials and synthetic resins in fifteen counties (up from ten), chemical fertilizers in twelve counties (compared with seven) and chemical fibre and yarn in ten counties (as against four).

The strategy of intensive growth of the forces of production also supplied an optimum answer to the work force question. Over 1950-1985 the working population increased by 26.4 per cent to stand at 10.6 million. However, there were essential changes in its dynamics and structure by branches, a reflex of the economic and social changes in the country. The industrial population grew 3.9 times to stand at 37.1 per cent of the total, from 12 per cent in 1950 and 19.2 per cent in 1965; the number of people working in construction increased 4.2 times, that in education was up 2.2 times and that in research 7.1 times to account for larger shares of the total. Meanwhile, the agricultural population dropped to less than half. From 74.1 per cent of the total in 1950 to 28.9 early in 1985.

The effects of those changes were socially significant; they broadened the scope of the process of making living conditions in all places and regions of the country virtually the same.

This balanced distribution of the forces of production policy is gaining momentum during this five-year period.

A new programme for the development of the territory over 1986-1990 will bring the value of economic activity in each county to at least 80,000 lei per capita, of which 50,000 lei in industrial production. This will put industrial production in each county to at least twenth thousand million lei in terms of value, or twice the figure for the 1976-1980 five-year period.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

WRITERS URGED TO SHOW TOLERANCE, AVOID DOGMATIC SLOGANS

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian No 35, 28 Aug 86 p 11

[Article by Laurentiu Ulici: "Climate: Parenthetical Comments"]

[Excerpts] If the magazine STEAUA [THE STAR] represented a genuine opportunity for self-expression as well as setting the tone of the literary climate for Transylvanian writers who graduated in the 60s, the student magazine ECHINOX [EQUINOX] played the same role vis-a-vis writers who graduated in the 70s. A simple but incomplete list of names of those who developed their talents in the pages of this magazine tells all: Dinu Flamand, Ion Mircea, Adrian Popescu, Aurel Sorobetea, Marcel Constantin Runcanu, Eugen Uricaru, Grigore Zanc, Constantin Zarnescu, Marian Papahagi, Petru Poanta, Aurel Sasu, Ion Vartic, Geza Szocs, Peter Motzan, Mircea Ghitulescu, Dan Damaschin, Al. Cistelecan, Ioan Peianov, Stefan Borbely, Virgil Mihaiu, etc. It is likewise possible to put together a long list of young writers from other parts of the country whose writings appeared, more or less sporadically, in this magazine. But there is something else worth noting: though part of a team, the writers who matured in the pages of the EQUINOX near the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s did not form a group in the sense of adhering to a single literary formula. "Whoever isn't like us, isn't any good" is a slogan typical of the 50s which has reappeared, much to our sorrow (though not wonder), among the young writers of the mid-80s. But this slogan was totally discredited during the 70s, when writers not only did not resemble each other, they took pride in being different, in following, from the very beginning, a path they considered their own. This tolerant attitude towards alternative poetic or critical formulas, other than those practiced by the young writers of the day, sprang, if I'm not mistaken, from a general point of view of a democratic nature. The notion that literature must be constantly reinvented, must be correct in principle and must be explainable psychologically, was not confused with the vain and pointless prejudice that everything that happened "before" meant nothing, that everything starts "now." Tolerance in no way means indifferences towards values for the sake of diversity; what was being rejected in the name of tolerance was only a dogmatic vision imposed upon literature and the elevation to the rank of absolute, axiological principle of one or another aspect of literature. A virtually unanimous conviction existed that the literary landscape is always broader than the number of its "occupants," and that the debut of a young writer, the appearance of a new name, is an event worthy of celebration and a sign of vitality. The literary competition

that took place among the EQUINOX writers did not have the purpose of creating an athletic classification, but rather of increasing the value and stylistic diversity of literature. It is understood that in such a formative climate, the profile of a young writer was drawn without supplementary strategies both in the aesthetic context of literature and the moral context of life. I analyzed on an earlier occasion the consequences, good and bad, of this climate with respect to the development of the writers belonging to the class of '70, so it is not necessary to go over that. What I would like to underscore now is that many of those respectable writers belonging to this class owe something to literary tolerance based on relativism and pluralism, embodying a modern intellectual outlook and representing a form of intellectual respect among literary authors. And if all this may seem a comforting utopia to someone, we must look for the fault within ourselves. All of us. But that is another story....

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CSO: 2700/311

POLITICS

ROMANIA

NICU CEAUSESCU MEETS GDR YOUTH DELEGATION

AU261938 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 26 Aug 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/8/1986--A delegation of the Free German Youth (FDJ) of the German Democratic Republic, led by Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the CC of the FDJ, now visiting Romania upon the invitation of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], was received by Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, first secretary of the CC of the UCY.

It was an opportunity to exchange information and experience on the current concerns of the two youth organizations towards mobilizing the young generation with a view to fulfilling the socioeconomic development goals set by the RCP and the SED, respectively.

During the interview reference was made to the friendly and cooperative ties between the two parties and countries, which take a steadily upward course on multiple planes, in keeping with the understandings covenanted between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker.

A series of questions of the international youth movement were also approached, with stress laid on its active contribution to the peoples' general fight for peace, disarmament, independence and freedom, democracy and progress.

The same day, the Free German Youth delegation were received by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RPC.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

WORLD LEADERS GREET ROMANIANS ON NATIONAL DAY

SRV Message

AU281036 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 86 p 5

[Message from Truong Chinh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) and president of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV), Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly, to Romanian leaders Nicolae Ceausescu, Constantin Dascalescu, and Nicolae Giosan on Romania's 23 August National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania,

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, Prime Minister of the Government of the SR of Romania,

To Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania,

Dear Comrades,

On the 42nd anniversary of the national day of the SR of Romania, we extend warmest congratulations to you, the RCP, the Grand National Assembly, the State Council, and the Government of the SR of Romania, and all the Romanian people.

The victory of the RCP-led revolution of August 1944 has opened the road for great revolutionary changes and led to Romania's progress along the road of socialist construction. From a backward agrarian country with a poorly developed industry, Romania has today become a industrial-agrarian country with a modern industry and a socialist agriculture that is registering increasing progress year by year; culture, education, and science are developing strongly and the people's material and intellectual standards are improving continuously.

The Vietnamese communists and people have always followed with empathy the socialist construction in Romania and sincerely wish the fraternal Romanian people to attain ever greater successes, under the leadership of the RCP headed by Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions, thus raising the socialist construction in Romania to ever higher peaks.

We are firmly convinced that the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the parties, states, and peoples of our two countries will further consolidate and develop, to the benefit of our peoples and of socialism and peace in the world.

Truong Chin, CPV Central Committee general secretary and president of the SRV State Council,

Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers,

Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly.

#### Lao Leaders' Message

AU290355 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania.

On the 42d anniversary of the national day of the SR of Romania, we extend, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP], the Supreme People's Council, the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], and the Lao people, warm congratulations and our best wishes to you and, through you, to the RCP, the Grand National Assembly, the government, and to all Romanian people.

Inspired by sentiments of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, 42 years ago the Romanian people, in close solidarity with the Red Army and the Soviet people, struggled against the Hitlerite fascists, liberated the country, and founded the Socialist Republic of Romania. Ever since then, the Romanian people, under their communist party's leadership, have focused all their efforts on construction work in the country, thus equipping socialist Romania with an advanced industry and agriculture, with a modern science and technology, and with a strong national defense system, while the standard of living has improved continuously.

The successes attained by the Romanian people have contributed to vigorously strengthening the force of the socialist system and the people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

On this occasion, we wish the Romanian people, under the leadership of the RCP headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, increasingly greater successes in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions aimed at turning Romania into a developed socialist country.

May solidarity, fraternal friendship, and cooperation between the Laotian and Romanian parties, governments, and peoples develop and prosper continuously.

Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the LPDR.

Souphanouvong, president of the republic and chairman of the Supreme People's Council of the LPDR.

#### Ethiopian Leader's Message

AU280934 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania,

On the 42nd anniversary of your national liberation day, I would like to congratulate you, the fraternal Romanian people, and the Government of the SR of Romania, on behalf of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, the Government and people of Socialist Ethiopia, and myself personally.

I am convinced that the existing friendly ties between our two countries will further consolidate in the future.

I take this opportunity to extend to you wishes for health and happiness and to the people of the SR of Romania wishes for prosperity and progress.

Mengistu Haile Marian, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, and supreme commander of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia.

#### Mongolian Message

AU281059 Bucharest SCINETEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 86 p 5

[Message from Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, to Romanian President Nicolae Ceasescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania,

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu,

On the Romanian people's national holiday, the 42nd anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke, I extend cordial comradely greetings and best wishes to you and through you to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, the communists, and all the fraternal Romanian people, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, and myself personally.

Having embarked upon the road of socialist construction, the Romanian people have attained profound social and political changes in a short historical span, through self-denying work in close cooperation with the USSR peoples and other fraternal socialist countries. Socialist Romania's successes in the years of socialist construction are indissolubly linked with the activity of the Romanian people's vanguard, the RCP, which celebrated its 65th anniversary in May 1986.

Noting that relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the MPRP and RCP and between our countries and peoples are developing successfully--relations that are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism--I am convinced that these ties will further develop and strengthen, in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the SR of Romania, to the benefit of our peoples, and in the interest of consolidating the unity and solidarity of the countries of the socialist community and promoting the cause of peace and socialism.

On the SR of Romania's national day, I wish you, the communists, and the fraternal Romanian people happiness, well-being, and great successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, building the comprehensively developed socialist society, promoting the struggle for lasting peace and overall security.

J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic

#### Israel's President Greets Ceausescu

AU281028 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania,

On the happy occasion of the National Day anniversary of the SR of Romania, I take pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of the people of Israel and on my own behalf, most sincere greetings and warmest wishes for personal happiness and for progress and well-being to the people of your country.

Hayim Herzog, president of Israel

Communist Party of Israel

AU281030 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To the RCP Central Committee

Esteemed Comrades,

On the occasion of the 42d anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke, we take pleasure in conveying to you, and through you, to the Romanian people, warmest, brotherly greetings.

The decisive victory of the glorious Red Army over the fascist hoards, the destruction of the Hitlerite war machine and the heroic antifascist insurrection in Romania, under your party's leadership, led to the liberation of your country and opened up the road towards socialism in Romania.

We take this opportunity to convey to you, the communists, and the Romanian peoples wishes for complete success in their efforts to consolidate socialism and international solidarity and to make peace prevail throughout the world.

With brotherly greetings,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel

Lebanese CP Leader's Message

AU290952 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

Dear comrades: On the 42d anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of the social and national liberation of Romania, I extend to you personally and, through you, to the RCP Central Committee, and to all Romanian people most sincere congratulations and best wishes on my own behalf and on behalf of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party [LCP] and all communists in Lebanon.

At the same time, we wish Romania under RCP leadership further successes in the future in fulfilling the great tasks it has proposed for building the socialist society, the guarantee for the prosperity and peace of the friendly Romanian people.

Romania's liberation 42 years ago opened the road of profound revolutionary transformations in all areas of socioeconomic activity, thus laying the bases for building the socialist society in your country.

At the same time, this event brought about an active participation by Romania in the world revolutionary process. The victory of the



antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in Romania under RCP leadership took place under the favorable conditions ensured by the great victories won by the Soviet Union against fascism to free mankind from this scourge.

Rejoicing at the great successes achieved by your country under RCP leadership, we wish you fresh successes in implementing the great targets put forward by the 13th party congress, tasks which are faced by the Romanian people and whose implementation will ensure Romania's consistent development and the progress and prosperity of its people.

George Hawi, general secretary of the LDP Central Committee.

Khamenei's Message to Ceausescu

AU290953 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the national holiday of the SR of Romania, I want to extend congratulations to you, the government, and the Romanian people.

I also want to express the hope that relations of friendship between our countries will continue to develop to the benefit of the Iranian and Romanian peoples.

On this occasion I want to convey to you best wishes and I pray for the prosperity and well-being of the Romanian people.

Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Castro's National Day Message

AU281107 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania,

On the 42d anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke, allow me to extend to you most fraternal congratulations and cordial greetings, on behalf of the Cuban Communist Party, people, and government.

This most significant anniversary offers us the pleasant opportunity of expressing our happiness with the successes scored by the Romanian people, party, and government in building the socialist society.

This anniversary takes place at a time when imperialism is intensifying its aggressive actions and when it becomes even more urgent to support the constructive Soviet disarmament initiatives, which have raised the hopes of all peace- and social progress-loving countries.

We reiterate the desire to further develop friendship, cooperation, and bilateral ties between our countries and continue the common struggle for socialism, peace, and the socioeconomic progress of nations, particularly of the developing countries, proceeding from the need to establish a new international economic order.

With sentiments of the highest regard and friendship,

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

PNC Chairman's Message

AU020912 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, please permit me to extend to you most sincere congratulations and wishes for constant happiness, as well as wishes for progress and well-being to the friendly Romanian people.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sayih, chairman of the Palestine National Council

Mauritius CP Leader Greetings

AU281031 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general we extend to the RCP and the Romanian people wishes for complete success.

With brotherly greetings,

Leetoraj Chundramun, chairman of the Communist Party of Mauritius

San Marino Communist Party

AU281027 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general,

On the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, we convey best wishes

to you, to the RCP Central Committee, and to the Romanian people, who are fighting for peace, progress, and socialism.

San Marino Communist Party

AKEL Party of Cyprus Greet

AU281027 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To the RCP Central Committee,

On the occasion of the National Day of the Socialist Romania, we convey your people and party best wishes for new successes in building socialism and in safeguarding peace throughout the world.

The Central Committee of the AKEL Party (Progressive Party of the Working People in Cyprus)

Uruguay CP Leader's Greetings

AU281029 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To the RCP Central Committee

I convey warmest greetings to the RCP, to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and to all the Romanian people on the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution, which opened up the road towards the successes attained in the socialist construction, successes which made a great contribution to the cause of peace and social progress.

Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Afghan Leaders' Greetings

AU281034 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary and president of the SR of Romania

On behalf of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and on our own behalf, we take pleasure in conveying to you, and through you, to the RCP Central Committee, the Government, and the friendly Romanian people, cordial greetings on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan firmly

believe that the Romanian people, under RCP leadership, by completely implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions, will obtain new successes in building the comprehensively developed socialist society and will ensure the prosperity and happiness of their homeland.

We are convinced that the relations of friendship existing between our peoples and countries will continue to develop in the interests of our peoples, and of peace and security throughout the world.

With comradely greetings,

Njaibollah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Babrak Karmal, president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Greek CP-Interior Leader

AU281057 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Message from (Leonidas Kirkos), general secretary of the Communist Party of Greece-Interior (KKE-Interior), to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania,

Much beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

Please accept the cordial congratulations of the KKE-Interior and myself personally on the 42nd anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation in your country. We extend to you wishes for new successes in the struggle of the RCP and the entire Romanian nation for well-being, progress, and peace.

The SR of Romania is very active internationally and promotes a foreign policy which is firmly devoted to the cause of peace, disarmament, national independence, and international cooperation, on the basis of principles of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states. The nations value your country's outstanding contribution to promoting the East-West dialogue aimed at overcoming the deadlock reached in the efforts for international detente as a result of the continuous arms race, of the plans to extend it into outer space, of the use of armed force in relations between states, and of the reactivation and sharpening of local hotbeds of tension and conflicts; such a deadlock is due to bipolarization and the logic of maintaining the world's division into opposing camps.

In this respect, particular importance devolves on the efforts made by the SR of Romania to strengthen international security, attain full and controlled general disarmament, and create nuclear-free areas in various parts of the

world, including the Balkans and central and northern Europe; these efforts are also shared by our country and are warmly supported by our party and all progressive political forces in Greece.

The accumulation of nuclear weapons which threaten to destroy our planet, the new scope that this process confers on the nuclear issue, and the recent tragedy caused by a nuclear power plant accident imperatively require that we seek new thinking avenues and new ways and means of international cooperation in order to ensure mankind's survival through peaceful coexistence, to cope with new problems, and to develop and control energy sources; such efforts cannot be coordinated at a national level alone. The CPGI is doing its best to be up to the tasks set forth by the present critical international contingency. We are convinced that the RCP understands and supports our efforts.

We wish you, beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu new successes in your activity devoted to the Romanian people's interests and the cause of peace and socialism.

(Leonidas Kirkos), KKE-Interior general secretary

PCE Leaders' National Day Message

AU281035 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 86 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

On behalf of the PCE Central Committee and on our own behalf, we express warmest greetings on the 42nd anniversary of Romania's liberation.

We also convey our greetings to the RCP Central Committee and to all the people in Romania. We ardently wish that Romania should continue its glorious progress in the socialist construction and in defending peace and developing socialist democracy.

We also express our wishes for strengthening friendship and cooperation between our parties.

On behalf of the PCE Central Committee Dolores Ibaruri, president and Gerardo Iglesias, general secretary

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA PROVIDES DETAILS OF GORBACHEV'S SPEECH

AU211745 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Aug 86 p 8

["Soviet Union's Decision To Extend Its Unilateral Moratorium on an End of Nuclear Tests--A Decision in the Spirit of the Nations' Desire for Peace and of the Request To End the Arms Race"]

[Text] Moscow 19 (AGERPRES)--As we reported, on 18 August Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a statement on Soviet Television in connection with one of the key issues of the international life, namely the nuclear tests.

Pointing out that the USSR's unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests expired on 6 August--a moratorium which was strictly observed by the Soviet Union, as is well-known, for a period of one year--the speaker said that this most responsible decision was based on the realities of our nuclear space age: the accumulation of mountains of nuclear and other weapons, a bitter arms race, the danger of extending this arms race into space, and the intensification of the militarization of the United States and the entire NATO bloc. It is important to stress that the rate of military technological development is high, M. Gorbachev said, that the nations, states, and politicians have less and less time to realize the real danger. Consequently, mankind's possibilities to prevent a nuclear catastrophe are lessening. We should not put off matters, since more and more sophisticated systems of weapons may be developed which will, generally, speaking, make it impossible to reach an agreement on checking such weapons.

He stressed that broad practical steps should be taken now to halt militarism and bring about a positive turning point in the evolution of events. "The balance of terror" is no longer a deterrent.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary said: Our decision on the moratorium was based on the attachment of socialism, as a social system, to the cause of peace and on its profound understanding of its responsibility for the destiny of civilization.

The USSR considers that each country is entitled to fashion its own destiny, be master of its resources, sovereignly establish its social development road, defend its own security, and participate in the establishment of an all-embracing system of international security.

We must learn to face facts bravely, the speaker said. He stressed that the explosion of the smallest nuclear charge, from a radiation viewpoint, equals three Chernobyl-type accidents. Hence, anybody deciding to first resort to the nuclear strike actually condemns himself to a painful death; not as a result of the return strike, but due to the explosion of one's own nuclear charges. Stating that the 15 January 1986 Soviet proposals on eliminating nuclear weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 fully meet the requirements of our age and that the USSR has shown that it is ready to seek compromise solutions to problems generating dissent and suspicion, the speaker then said that the Soviet Union has advanced a package of constructive proposals at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons.

Together with our Warsaw Pact allies, the speaker said, we presented a complex of measures on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. We would like to jointly and consistently progress in this field, too, toward lower and less dangerous levels of military confrontation. New proposals on chemical weapons were also made; in our opinion, we could sign, by the end of this year or sometime next year, a convention on banning chemical weapons and liquidating stocks and the industrial base for their manufacture.

In view of the fact that all well-meaning people have hailed the Soviet decision on a moratorium on nuclear weapons, that the Soviet moratorium was approved by the UN General Assembly--the most representative assembly of states in the world--and that the USSR has enough reasons to resume nuclear tests, given the U.S. policy in this field, the USSR however is still convinced that the halt of its nuclear tests as well as a similar halt by the United States would make real progress toward ending the nuclear arms race and accelerating the elimination of nuclear weapons. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo decided to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests until 1 January 1987.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary said in conclusion: More than half of 1986, which was proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Peace Year, has passed. By extending its unilateral moratorium, the Soviet Union is making a substantial contribution to the general aspiration that this year should be worthy of its name. This is the meaning of the new USSR political initiative.

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ROMANIA

ROMANIA LIBERA ON TIES WITH NONALIGNED MOVEMENT.

AU011457 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1319 GMT 1 Sep 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/9/1986--Romania has always highly assessed the role of the Nonaligned Movement in the international (?arena). Relevant in this respect is this country's resolve to participate in the movement's activities to develop and strengthen its every broader participation, in various forms, including the presence of the Romanian delegation at the Harare summit conference, with an invited guest status, shows a commentary in the September 1 issue of the ROMANIA LIBERA daily. When the mandate of the Romanian delegation to the conference was examined and approved, the conviction was expressed that the current meeting would contribute to a still more powerful development of the Nonaligned Movement, to the strengthening of those countries' unity of action and their enhanced role in the world arena, in the fight for an independence, detente and collaboration policy, for the promotion of peace and understanding among nations. The Romanian delegation will reiterate Socialist Romania's militant solidarity with the efforts deployed by the nonaligned and the developing countries to overcome the problems with which they are confronted, with the step they take in favour of peace and international collaboration.

The newspaper welcomes the fact that Romania's initiatives for the reduction of military expenses and the utilization of the sums thus released for development purposes enjoy a strong reverberation among the nonaligned countries.

The goals and concerns of the Nonaligned Movement merge with Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's foreign policy aims and demarches, the commentary further reads, showing the fact to be reflected both in the growth of bilateral ties between Romania and the Nonaligned Movement (Romania has diplomatic ties with eighty nonaligned countries) and in this country's manysided international activity.

Romania has signed bilateral documents with several nonaligned and developing countries which enshrine common viewpoints on the achievement of disarmament, the elimination of colonialism, the establishment of a new international economic and political order. Romania's economic exchanges with the developing countries have tripled over the last twenty years, and many joint



companies have been set up for that purpose. Projects are under way concerning cooperation in industry, agriculture and transport.

All this, the commentary points out, provides a lasting groundwork, which gives substance to Romania's close collaboration with the nonaligned and all the developing countries, with all the states that fight for independence and equity.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

# CEAUSESCU RECEIVES JAPANESE CP DELEGATION

AU281900 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 28 Aug 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/8/1986--On August twenty-eight RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, received a delegation of the Japan Communist Party, consisting of Eizo Kobavashi, member of the Permanent Presidium and of the secretariat of the party, and Yasuo Ogata, member of the Presidium, head of the international section of the CC of the JCP, that are visiting Romania, at Snagov.

On the occasion the head of the RCP and Romanian state was conveyed a message on behalf of Kenji Miyamoto, chairman of the party Central Committee, and a warm friendly salute and wishes of new ever greater successes in his entire activity.

Thanking, Nicolae Ceausescu asked that Kenji Miyamoto and the JCP leadership be conveyed, on his behalf and on that of the RCP leadership, a cordial salute and best wishes. The RCP general secretary considered the Romanian visit of the JCP delegation to be an expression of the good relations established between the two parties.

During the interview the sides underscored the ascending evolution of the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity extant between the Romanian Communist Party and the Japan Communist Party, in whose development a particular part has been played by the documents agreed between the two parties at summit level. At the same time they expressed the wish to further expand the collaboration between the RCP and the JCP, based on full equality, mutual confidence on understanding, on observance of each party's right to work out self-dependently its domestic and international policy, the revolutionary ways and means, in keeping with the concrete conditions in each country. They considered that an intensification of the exchanges of experience and of contacts, and discussing the problems of joint interest served both parties, the development of the good relations between Romania and Japan and the strengthening of the friendship between the two peoples, the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

Aspects of the international political situation, of the communist and working class movement were also approached.

Nicolae Ceausescu underscored that, under the current, grave and complex, international circumstances, all the countries and peoples, the communist and worker parties, the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world should cooperate ever more actively to check the dangerous course of events towards confrontation and war, to promote a policy of peace, detente and understanding among all peoples.

During the talks emphasis was placed on the significance of strengthening the unity, solidarity and collaboration between the communist and worker parties, based on the principles of respect for each party's independence and autonomy, on the need to boost their cooperation in the struggle for peace, for economic and social progress, for a better and more just world on the planet.

Starting from the serious world economic situation, stress was laid on the importance of a global resolution of underdevelopment-related questions, the establishment of a new world economic order, conducive to the faster progress of all the peoples, of those lagging behind more particularly.

During the interview it was agreed that a high-level delegation of the Japanese Communist Party shall soon pay a visit to Romania, to further the dialogue between the two parties on the growth of bilateral ties, as well as on cardinal issues of the contemporary age, of the communist and working class movement, of the fight for disarmament, peace and international collaboration.

The interview was attended by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, CC of the RCP secretary.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

**GDR YOUTH DELEGATION VISIT**--A delegation of the German Democratic Republic's Free German Youth (FDJ), led by Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the CC of the FDJ, paid a visit to Romania on an exchange-of-experience basis over August 25-29. The delegation had talks at the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] and the Constanta County Committee of the RCP. Its schedule also included visits and meetings with youths at economic and socio-cultural units in Bucharest Municipality and in the counties of Arges and Constanta. The talks conducted during the visit highlighted the current stage and the prospects of bilateral collaboration on a youth line, which takes a steadily upward course, in the spirit of the traditional ties of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and countries, based on the talks and understandings covenanted at top level. A programme for collaboration between the youth organizations of Romania and the German Democratic Republic over 1987-1988 was signed at the end of the visit. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1519 GMT 29 Aug 86 AU] /6662

**MONGOLIA'S THANKS FOR GREETINGS**--The prime minister of the government, Comrade Dascalescu, received a cable from Comrade D. Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic. In the cable heartfelt thanks for the greetings conveyed on Mongolia's national day are expressed. The belief that the governments of the two countries will work to continuously develop the Romanian-Mongolian relations of friendship and cooperation is also expressed in the cable. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Aug 86 p 7 AU] /6662

**CONDOLENCES PRESENTED AT TURKISH EMBASSY**--Bucharest AGERPRES 28/8/1986--In connection with the death of the former president of Turkey, Celal Bayar, condolences were presented at the Turkish Embassy in Bucharest, and Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, and Stefan Stefanescu, chairman of the Romania-Turkey Parliamentary Group of Friendship, signed the book of condolence. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1558 GMT 28 Aug 86 AU] /6662

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

OUTSPOKEN POLITICAL SCIENTIST INIC INTERVIEWED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC 10 May 86 pp 1, 24-25

[Interview with Slobodan Inic by Radovan Colevic: "We Just Have to Wait"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] For the beginning of this interview, it seems to me that it is best to start with your book "Do You Speak Politics?". Investigating in essay form the characteristics and (im)possibilities of political speech, you conclude that it is characterized, in addition to mystification, by falsehood and manipulation, the concealment of reality, or the transformation of unreality into reality. As such, political speech acts as a closing off of prospects and as coercion. If this sort of "language of power" and "power of language" resulted from the non-spirit of political practice, as a sort of ideological-class violence, is there any possibility today for eliminating such a practice by creating a language of rebellion and dissent, a language that does not betray vital human problems, in which words are "brought to an awareness of what they should mean"?

[Answer] I have to admit that this is more a problem of thought, of the ability to think. I only got through to an explanation of the "word game." I only took off that first layer, but I have not yet dug into the mental structure of the speech of power and the power of speech. The speech of the existing (and existing speech) is not its own cause, and that then leads to the reasoning: well, let us speak better! In fact, one does not speak in that way just because one speaks; one speaks that way because one thinks that way.

Let us take the manifestations of the "language of coercion." How is it possible? It is possible, since it reflects the very coercion conducted against reality and people. And how is coercion possible?--we can ask further. Because such an idea has occurred, the notion of violence as a means of resolving social or class contradictions. Such speech, however, violent and mystified, is not simply a "reflection" of this idea. Conversely, it is later in time and itself influences the way of thinking, and contributes to its formation. Violent ideas and words march together, in step. I have never liked marches as the music of a regime.

The idea that society would be socially happier if things were taken away from some people through the force of a "revolution" in order to be given to other

people has given rise to coercion unprecedented in history. I must nevertheless admit that this idea was basically a noble one. All of history, up until the present day, shows that such a "revolutionary attitude" is almost inborn in man. Naturally, this is a view that in practice, however, has not made people "happy." When you carry out such a revolution, with the aid of force, of course, then it turns out that part of the injustice remains, only assuming different forms, that the problem is not just that some people had more and others had less, and particularly that the hand of coercion remains and is not withdrawn. New injustices thus arise. Violent spirits will never realize that the means that they propose for eradicating all the injustices of the world, as a rule, finally end up turning into violence against themselves! Possibly this is just, you will say, and I believe that one may think so. In my opinion, however, the only just situation is the one in which no one suffers because of justice or injustice. In any case, I am afraid of the "ochlocratic" justice, in the Saint-Just sense of a triumph "in the name of the people." The word "justice," that sword of the people, has brought the people more injustice than all of those vocabularies in which justice is under the letter "Z."

The central problem in speech about public affairs is the problem of the revival of words and in words. For example, I mentioned the word "justice." Did those historical figures who charged ahead with it in their thoughts and on their lips always know what it meant? Can one be certain, if we take present-day circumstances, that there is only one meaning of justice, justice as a "change in society" once and for all? What do we say if this meaning of justice ends up as injustice? Postrevolutionary society has created new injustices. You see, when a person thinks that way he then opens up different possibilities for the social as well as innumerable alternatives in view of the object of the social. I am horrified when I hear, "There is no other alternative for us!" There is always an alternative; the problem is only whether we think, or are free to think, in an alternative way.

Consequently, such a language, which I only "proposed" casually in my book, is possible. This is no utopia. A real possibility for such a language, however, is implied by the freedom and imagination of thought, especially in thinking about public affairs.

[Question] The issue of speech as language in socialism is linked to the foregoing. Within the framework of the communist movement, speech has, in fact, become completely functionalized and unambiguous. Does such a metamorphosis also reflect the entropy of the movement itself, i.e. its practice, to the extent that speech becomes a command?

[Answer] There is a command of speech and a speech of command. Perhaps the difference is not intelligible at first glance. Nevertheless, I think that it is very important. There is no society, nor can I imagine any, that will not have the words "commands of speech." There is a very significant area in human life that is filled with various rules for obligations, either in family, personal, or social life. The words for obligations also correspond to such obligations. We know great people in the intellectual sense who did not want to go to school when they were children. I think that our civilization has to be grateful to the word "obligation," even in that

regulating sense, because crystallized institutional and other mechanisms have assisted in the socialization of man, and in this specific case, those who did not like school "came to like" it, and finally advanced the heritage of civilization with new discoveries, ideas, and inventions.

The other side is the "speech of command." Its origin is either messianic or violent. But there have been few movements in history that were socially successful whose ideologies were derived solely from violence. Then it was more a question of a band of robbers than a serious social movement. The Bolsheviks did not engage in revolutionary violence because they were violent people in the anthropogenetic sense. Trotsky was a fragile man, pale and "transparent" as a water flower. Lenin was short and small--a great man from the Kremlin. Stalin "surpassed" both of them in height, and was petty rather than short. In the civil war he "became famous" for getting into one of the good old aristocratic cellars and drinking up the wine.

Repression prevailed, however. Naturally, it was mutual. But it was also "different." While the Whites carried it out in the name of the past, the Reds did it in the name of the future. Trotsky justified this by saying that terror is useless if it is used by reaction against the class that is on a historical ascent, but terror can be very productive against the reactionary class that does not want to leave the stage. Naturally, he thought that the bourgeoisie had already become reactionary under Russian conditions, but in actuality, it had not even come to play its revolutionary role as stressed by Marx in the Communist Manifesto. He had "forgotten" that the Romanovs did not want to allow the bourgeoisie into the government. Nicholas ruled in an absolutist manner and did not want to share power, even with the bourgeoisie. Then how could that class have been reactionary?

But there have existed many "idea-words" that not only legitimized but also formed a basis for messianism and the language of coercion and command. On one occasion, one of the first leaders of the Russian revolution said the following: "We are the ones [emphasis on "we" by Slobodan Inic] who are showing the people the right path to human life..." Let me point out some implications that are derived from this. First of all, there is something like a "we" that is the only one to know what human life is. Next, only "we" and the people exist. Finally, "we" are the only ones who know how to show the people the real path to human life! When this type of messianism wears itself out, then you have the language of coercion and command. Usually, violent language goes together, behind, and with the words of messianism. Trotsky himself expressed this best: "The question... of who will rule the country... will not be resolved in any respect by citing paragraphs of the constitution, but rather by the use of all types of violence [emphasis on last phrase by Slobodan Inic]." He felt that historically there were no other means but the energetic use of violence. Now you have seen how the language of messianism and the language of violence go together.

I would like to say that the vocabulary of command and coercion demonstrates the failure of every movement that promises a new Jerusalem. Movements that do not aspire mentally and practically to paradisaical social gardens, on the other hand, do not call their principles into question, even when they use "all means," because their goals are not "holy," nor do they present them as

such. But if a movement proclaims the holiness of its goals, a social order of people on a massive scale unprecedented in history, but uses means that do not live up to these goals, and moreover even forces people to believe in the holy goals, "forgetting" all the kinds of means it is using as if all of this is in agreement--then there is a moral failure, more than in the case of some "ordinary" movement. The problem is not just that the postrevolutionary societies do not function better, like the other societies, particularly those that are competitively "denied," but also that such societies want to persuade people that they are different and even more advanced than those other societies. Nevertheless, it still seems to me that they are still succeeding in using the "holy" goals to justify the means, because we have not seen such social structures surmounted anywhere. In this respect, words of command and the words of goals (messianism) play a vital role. In my book, I emphasized that social systems can be maintained in speech and ideas.

[Question] In the book "The Communist Party Today," you subject the activity and means of existence of communist parties to an immanent analysis. You also express criticism of their internal structure, which has not adapted to the existing social trends. Isn't this caused by the fact that social circumstances and processes have outgrown the methods of activity of communist parties?

[Answer] Completely. I would even say that some of these parties, precisely because of resistance to changing themselves and their methods, role, and method of action in society, and especially the parties that have come to power, have become an almost conservative social force, a brake on social development. Only I must explain the nature of the conservatism of these parties. Actually, this is not a conservatism of the classic prerevolutionary type that pulls backward, and seeks to stop social time. No, this is a manifestation of a separate new conservatism; conservatism in a revolutionary manner! You are probably surprised by this. But, with your permission, for me a revolutionary attitude that does not take into account the ripeness of social circumstances for socialism ends with the same consequences as conservatism like classical conservatism. This conservatism is more dangerous, however; it conceals itself with the aid of the "splendor" of the revolutionary ideas that sparkle in the visions of the program, but which cannot be realized at this stage of development.

Take a look, briefly, at the balance of power of some communist parties. I will outline this in a concise way. Before coming to power, these parties, in their programs, supported respecting and preserving the supreme representative body and the multiparty system. They in fact abolished that system, even those who formally left other parties. They then promised far more democracy than there had been, for example, in prewar Czechoslovakia. Now in some of these countries people are even imprisoned for words. They promised that they would abolish exploitation, every form of exploitation, with the help of the state. Do not forget that before they came to power, they criticized the exploitative and undemocratic essence of every bourgeois state, even the most democratic. Because it was bourgeois, however, it had to be destroyed. Nevertheless, when they came to power, they created a state-exploiter. They were against classes, but they nevertheless formed a new power, according to some authors a ruling class, a politocracy. In some places the power and



privileges of this "class" surpass the privileges of the bourgeoisie. In fact, this is a sort of new "aristocracy." They attracted the peasants with plans for agrarian justice and lower taxes, but later they took their land away from them, and where the peasants do have land, the fruits of their labor are taken away from them.

I believe that these parties would perhaps be the best parties, provided that like other parties, after being in power, they would go into the opposition for a little while. It would by no means be good, for example, for the Italian Communist Party to come to power finally and irrevocably. As such, in the opposition, but also as a party capable of exercising power, still reflects the hope in the Communist Manifesto that communists are not some separate party from the other workers' parties and that they do not have any interests separate from the interests of the working class as a whole. The secret of the stability of the Italian republic since 1946, in spite of everything perhaps the most complex state in Europe politically, in view of the very broad range of pluralism, from neofascists to communists, lies in the fact that the Communist Party has very patiently played the role of an honest and visionary opposition, but also of a party that has the potential of ruling. "It is our turn to rule," Alfredo Reichlin justifiably said at this last congress of the Italian Communist Party. The Republic should be grateful for this, and for that role of the party. It still seems to them that if the situation had been different, and that if circumstances of force and not the force of circumstances had brought the Italian communists in the past to power finally and irrevocably, they would have "spoiled" their critical and opposition role, as indicated by historical experience, and that the party itself, like some of its sister parties in power, would have been "spoiled" by power, because some communist parties that have come to power so far, in the recent past, on the basis of the model of "seizing power," are becoming and remaining the power forever. But having power forever is a terrible responsibility.

The principal strategic problem of these parties in the West is their attitude toward the economy. Actually, they are inclined toward reforms in the means of production by socialization, regardless of the ripeness of economic conditions, which then leads to their distortion and the dyseconomy of society. Also, they are still not sufficiently convincing, as indicated by a certain fear on the part of the electorate politically, in view of experiences in the East, that they might persecute those with whom they do not agree ideologically and in thought. On the other hand, however, with respect to social policy, the struggle against big capitalism, in the "superstructure" of society in general, they are a very useful social and political force, and almost an irreplaceable one. I believe that these parties are necessary and essential, but provided that they are not all-powerful, in the "Eastern" sense of that term. The historical experience of Western Europe is the best confirmation of this.

[Question] Since the structure of the communist parties and the method of their influence have their roots in the Bolshevik tradition, in many respects an authoritarian one, adapted to illegal methods of action and oriented toward the political seizure of power, doesn't it seem to you that the reasons for the inability of the part to essentially revolutionize existing social

relations lie in this "loyalty" to the tradition and activities, and that it often even consolidates these relations?

[Answer] Loyalty to tradition? Absolutely. This was the lead weight that some of these parties labored under in the past from the standpoint of their means of action, methods, and role in society. There is a prominent contradiction between the state of these parties (the past) and their programs (the future). The difficulties in their activities and the reason for their immobilization are also contained in this. Between the past and the future, the present is "overlooked." Consequently, these and similar parties live in either the past or the future. They still have a "conspiratorial" attitude toward the present--"conspiratorial" in a defensive sense. They are obsessed by the fear of losing the power that they once seized, and think less about a positive program for the development of society with the aid of society. They thus continually enervate the social organism, although originally this was not their intention. A result, however, remains a result regardless of intentions. Tradition is the cause of enervation.

I would not agree about the revolutionary attitude as you put it in the question. The problem of the communist parties is not that they are insufficiently revolutionary, or that their internal mechanisms hinder them in revolutionizing the existing social relations, but rather that they are excessively revolutionary, and since this type of revolutionary attitude is not always adopted, because social circumstances are not ready, then the revolutionary attitude often turns into conservatism, and leads to the weakening of society. This is an unusual thing, but it corresponds perfectly to the nature of some communist parties. Something is not revolutionary just because it is thought revolutionary, but is revolutionary in terms of its social consequences. I consequently believe in small things as revolutionary, and in great ones as revolutionary only to the extent that these small things exist.

The weakness of certain communist parties today lies in the fact that they wish, with considerable superficiality and without taking into account the will of the majority, to make a radical change in the social situation or people's behavior, and finally, in man himself and his shortcomings. This is extraordinarily difficult, however, not to say impossible. Since that is the case, suspicion arises, and there are doubts about those who are supposed to "make people happy." Believing only in changes that do not change, no one thinks about how to change those who want to make changes. Nevertheless, some of their intended changes are noble, for instance those in connection with the prohibition of alcohol. I do not like drunks either, but I can understand why they drink. Alcoholism is one of the "phases" of today's socialism. Why do people drink in socialism? Well, probably because socialism is "drunk." Not even Marx could have predicted this, in spite of all his genius. Forbidding them such a satisfaction, however, would be the same thing as if you forbade overeating. "Fortunately," such a measure will not be undertaken, since certain "socialisms" have problems with feeding their own people, rather than keeping them from eating too much.

Finally, I would like to say something to round out my views of socialism today in connection with the role of the communist party as an inert,

traditional model that draws its strength from the past and that draws society into the past. No social system has had so many hopes associated with it, or so many sacrifices by people so that they would be better off, and be socially happier. Nevertheless, there are fundamental difficulties in the socialism of 1917, in the tradition of the coup d'etat, on the basis of a regime in which the communist party plays the dominant role. No communist ruler will admit this to you, however. Perhaps that is not even important now. It is more important that this failure not turn into a failure of socialism in general. But that has happened in some places.

[Question] In coming to power, and keeping the position of the leading force in society, the communist party has not been able to go beyond the horizon of a political revolution. Its supremacy is often maintained on the basis of a monopolistic political position, and is limited to keeping a grip on power. How is one justified in asserting that in this case the party has "replaced" revolution?

[Answer] You know, if there had not been Lenin's revolutionary party, that would later, through those 21 conditions for admission to the Third International, become a model for the workers' parties that decided to Bolshevize themselves, there would not have been a revolution in 1917 or later on in other countries. When I say that there would not have been, I am thinking of the paradigm of a revolution that is made and carried out by the communist party, and that is Lenin's model for a revolution. Up to the present day, Marx's model for a revolution has not "worked." We just have to wait. But Marx's model for a revolution is something different, not just because Marx never thought that a party should crush the state and change society in the way, but because he saw a revolution as the product of social reality, in the sense of an "objective," and less of a "subjective," process, when capitalism would no longer coincide with society and when society could no longer live under capitalism. In 1917, Russia and Russian society had not gone so far in their development as to be unable to live and develop under capitalism. People did not care about that, however; they wanted changes. But this did not reduce the distance from socialism. Consequently, the party created the revolution, but it took the form of a political revolution--a party coup d'etat.

[Question] In this sense, Lenin's theory of the party as the demiurge of the revolution is fundamental. In conceiving of the party as the "leading detachment of the proletariat," and the "combat phalanx of the Bolsheviks," did Lenin limit the possibilities for the self-organization of the working class in a different way, and did the organization of the party "from above" and its role in the dissemination of revolutionary awareness call into question the working class's capability of independent revolutionary action?

[Answer] Marx never singled out the communists from the other workers' parties in order to stress their "vanguard role" as representing the totality of the awareness of the working class or being the only political force that would liberate the proletariat. On the contrary, he felt that the liberation of the proletariat was the affair of the proletariat itself. All workers' parties, and not just the communists, have a significant role in this, however. I would like to recall some of his key positions. For example,

communists are not any kind of special party with respect to the other workers' parties. They do not present any special principles in which they would like to fit the proletarian movement. Marx did not think that communists were the ones who would always best hit upon the line of the social rise of the working class. On the basis of this, I think that other workers' parties, such as socialists and social democrats, may even offer better programs than the communist parties in their societies.

To return to your question, I do not believe in original, independent revolutionary action by the working class. I believe that workers' parties, of all orientations, are still the irreplaceable basis for any action by the working class, including revolutionary action, and the basis for its policy. But I believe even less in the "omnipotence" of the communist party, and that it could and can express the totality of class consciousness. The communist party is capable of objectively expressing only part, one part of the consciousness and interests of the working class. It is really fortunate that other workers' parties exist in addition to the communist party. Western Europe owes its political and social stability to this, among other things. But just as one cannot overrate the communist party, I would not underrate it--on the contrary, because communists show determination and even courage, which are advantageous in social and class struggles, especially in individual phases.

[Question] The discussion of "Lenin's Lenin" as opposed to "Stalin's Lenin" often ends with an equals sign between Lenin and Stalin. On the other hand, the same equals sign is put between Marx and Lenin. If both ideas are unfounded, how is it that Lenin remains a controversy between Marx and Stalin, "Criticisms (of the Revolution) and the State"?

[Answer] Critical spirits and Marxists in the West have agonized for a long time now over this question: Is Stalin Marx's "grandson"? Some things have to be explained. First of all, I will take the direct approach. If today the social situation that is embodied by socialism, or by what is called socialism, these theoreticians think, shows all these social difficulties, a crisis in society, then it is not surprising that people ask, "How responsible is Marx for all of this?" After all, those who are guiding and "building" socialism constantly cite Marx. Thus, just as today's church cannot be separated from Christ, the social situation after the revolution cannot be separated from Marx. Of course, that is how the matter stands directly, assuming that Marx himself approved the way in which each of the general secretaries would interpret quotations from him. Of course, one still does not arrive at an answer this way. There is also another approach. Critics can also criticize you in this way. One cannot, for God's sake, talk about how Stalin fell from the sky and spoiled socialism! Then how can the whole problem be explained?

In my research, and on the basis of it, I separated Marx from Lenin in order to separate (and save!) Lenin from Stalin. But it is likewise suspected that there is no theoretical continuity between Marx and Lenin, as is otherwise officially believed. That is the vital difference. Marx was not a political revolutionary in the militant sense. In spite of this, Lenin gave an interpretation of the revolutionary, rebellious Marx in the meaning of a coup

d'etat. In this respect, he was the first "revisionist" of Marx, while citing Marx! If the Russian Bolsheviks had followed Marx, they would never have carried out a revolution. A Lenin was needed for that, since for Marx a revolution occurs on the basis of the rebellion of the productive forces against production relationships. Against which relationships did the productive forces come forward? Against the feudal ones, naturally! Nevertheless, Lenin believed that this rebellion was also against bourgeois relationships, although he knew quite well that the Romanovs, all the way up to their fall, had not even given the bourgeoisie access to power. Furthermore, we will not find in Marx the idea of a revolutionary party that, like Archimedes' lever, will overturn the social world and which is historically called to such a deed. That is the vital difference.

On the other hand, the plan of accomplishing social changes through revolution in the sense of seizing power still shows itself to be insufficient, since the conditions were not ripe for socialism. The economy shows resistance to a socialization for which it is not mature, and this results in an inefficient economy and undemocratic development. This brings forward the great figures of violence. First there was Trotsky, and then Stalin. Finally, my answer is as follows: Stalinism is not a consequence of the logic of Marx's mind as much as it is a repressive reaction to the existing economic conditions, which could not be easily socialized without harmful implications in economic and democratic respects.

[Question] In the book "Difficulties of Socialism," in investigating the prerequisites and possibilities for revolutionizing social relations, you focus on the problem of the "objective reason" for socialism, the problem of the "material obsolescence of capitalism" as a necessary condition for social transformation. You conclude that this factor did not exist, and that this is the reason for many current mistakes in socialist projects.

[Answer] First of all, this has to do with one socialist project, and not several. Furthermore, poverty cannot be socialized. How can socialism exist in poor countries? The revolutionaries put themselves in a scarcely enviable position. On one hand, up until the present day, they have had to create a material basis for socialism, and on the other, they did this under the guise of socialism. I maintain that this is almost impossible. Why? When capitalists develop production relationships, they do not have any sacred principles to hinder them. They exploit the working class as an element of the capital process. It fights to be as well paid as possible. They do this in an economic way. When revolutionaries come to power in industrialized societies, they have to do the same thing, but they are afraid of an economic shift in production forces, since for doctrinary and interest reasons they are afraid that capitalism might be restored and that they might lose their power in that case. But without the economic development of production forces, society cannot take a real step in development. Also, the problem of development arises, since it cannot be ensured without industrialization and the creation of the material prerequisites, and this means, like it or not, the exploitation of the working class, and again it is only in that way that it can occur. Thus, the question is how to carry this out, since otherwise there can be no development, when the workers are constantly told that they are the ruling, leading class in society. This is an unusually limiting

factor. Where have you seen such a ruling class, and what kind of ruling class is it? Consequently, the postrevolutionary society that arose after 1917 is neither economic nor socialist. It cannot be economic, since an efficient economy implies a return to capitalism, and it cannot be socialist, since socialization is generated only from the highest development stages of the economy, which is historically lacking in this society, and also as a result of the above-mentioned limiting factor. Its political form, party-state socialism on the basis of the communist party regime, has almost become a brake on the development of society. Nevertheless, the problem of this society was not--and I would like to emphasize this--that it had a "premature" revolution, but rather that it did not find a suitable relationship between the political forms created after the revolution and the socioeconomic content of social labor.

I think that the socialists have shown themselves to be wiser. They gradually adjusted to capitalism, just as capitalism itself has adjusted to the socialists. That is why there is more socialism in Sweden today than in Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, and especially a good economy.

[Insert] Slobodan Inic was born in 1946 in Zrenjanin. He lived and went to school in Sarajevo and Gorazd, and graduated from the Political Science Faculty in Belgrade, where he received his doctorate. He now works as an associate professor at Belgrade University. In addition to several works dealing with sociology and political science, he has also published the following books: "The Communist Party Today" (Belgrade, 1982), "Do You Speak Politics?" (Belgrade, 1984), and "Difficulties of Socialism" (Belgrade, 1985). He is currently preparing two lengthy studies entitled "Party Jacobin" and "Is Workers' Rule Possible?".

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

# NEGLECT OF SERBIAN MONUMENT IN KOSOVO DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 86 p 17

[Commentary by Zoran Kostic]

[Text] The monument to the heroes of the Battle of Kosovo at Gazi-Mestan near Pristina, a memorial and a place of rest, has been transformed into a city dump. The warnings and steps taken by the Pristina veterans' affiliate seem not to have had any effect. The monument and vicinity continue to deteriorate. Negligence and lawlessness, which not only disrupt the atmosphere but also serve as a serious accusation against Pristina sociopolitical structures, are visible to the naked eye throughout the vicinity.

Such is the conclusion, among others, in a report from the Pristina opstina committee of the veterans' organization, "Concerning the Condition of Memorials, Monuments, Busts, Memorial Plaques, and Other Markers in This Opstina." Members of the veterans' affiliate recently discussed the report. Without beating around the bush, very specifically, the veterans talked about the lack of maintenance for historical monuments, along with the names of those who are destroying monuments or behaving inhumanely toward them. The neglect of the monument to the Kosovo heroes received the most space in the report. This neglect is no honor to those responsible for maintaining the monument or to its nearest neighbors.

Last year's trash dump in the immediate vicinity of the monument has been leveled to the ground and, in a manner of speaking, concealed. However, earth continues to be dumped, and veterans have recorded the license plates of trucks from Novi Pazar and Pristina. The earth dumped last year was from the "Suncani breg" construction site in Pristina, but this year the origin of the dumping is undetermined. The trees and other plantings that once provided shade for excursionists have been cut down for the most part, and herds of goats and other livestock grazing in the park nibble at what remains of the bushes. The trees cut down provide wood for heating for the neighbors. The area around the monument has been turned into pastureland, for which the neighbors pay nothing, for livestock belonging to Afrim Ferat, Imer Mitraci, Ramadan Barutikoza, Abdula Hajdari, Rahim and Adem Berisa, Redzep Raci, Ismailj Raci, Saban Raci, and others.



Most of the livestock owners pay nothing for grazing, but the commission also saw a receipt signed by a representative of the "Hortikultura" concern in Pristina for a token amount of 20,000 old dinars for sheep and goats and 120,000 old dinars for cattle for a year.

Ramadan Bajuku, an inhabitant of the neighboring village, was found to have sold his half-hectare property and to have taken over the same amount of land from the memorial park, on which he planted wheat. In doing so, he cut down 20 poplars, which he sold, despite the fact that they had been part of the park and memorial.

On the other side, the north, local inhabitant Fehmi Hajdari has taken over and plowed a hectare and 50 ares of land, which he is using as his own. This land is already entered in the official records as his property; how, no one knows yet. Local inhabitant Hamdi Berisa has taken over 10 ares of memorial land. The usurpers are social organizations as well as private individuals. The "Sloga" catering enterprise from Pristina joined with Hamdi Berisa to take 10 ares for a coffeehouse. The area is fenced with wire; corn is planted in one part. Berisa works in "Sloga," so he has taken a total of 20 ares. To judge by what is visible in the memorial park, and by what the locals say, the coffeehouse is greatly responsible for the continuing deterioration of the monument and the memorial area.

Murat's mausoleum stands 500 meters south of the monument to the Kosovo heroes, near the main road between Pristina, Titova Mitrovica, and Kraljevo. Murat's memorial is in slightly better shape than the monument to the Kosovo heroes. The trash formerly tossed there has been cleaned up, no more trash appears, and the area is now clean. The local preservation office has finished the most essential repairs to the outer walls, so the facility is secure. The interior of the monument, dedicated to the viscera of Sultan Murat, the Ottoman victor in the battle of Kosovo, has been preserved thanks to the high wall built in 1911, financed by the sultan. The shelter here, which still houses former watchguards, is on the way to ruin.

The 1984 project for tidying up the monument to the Kosovo heroes has not been implemented due to a lack of financing. The project called for building a stone fence, planting poppies on pathways, a parking area, a building for the watchman and souvenir sellers, and renovating the existing well, which is now clogged. The project required 30 million dinars but will probably need 70 million dinars as of now. The funding is still not secure.

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